236.

The Messenger

WORLD'S GREATEST NEGRO MONTHLY

Vol. VIII, No. 8

$1.75 a Year

Pullman Porters, Attention!

Read Every Line of this circular, then pass it on to your Brother.

After Midnight of August 5

Admission Fee in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Will be $10.00

Fellow Pullman Porters and Brothers, whoever you are, wherever you are, Greetings:

Because of the many letters coming from Porters and Maids all over the country complaining of the scarcity of work and the frequency of "dead-heading" during the slow months of May and June, the Executives of the Brotherhood in their desire to give every red-blooded, courageous and race-loving Porter and Maid a chance to join the Brotherhood without much inconvenience, have decided to admit new members at the usual rate of $5.00 initiation fee, plus dues for the month of June—a total of $6.00, during the month of July.

Honorable Frank P. Walsh and Mr. Donald Richberg, attorney for the standard Railroad Brotherhoods and legal adviser to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, both desire to have behind them when they go to the new Board with our case, a 100 per cent well-knitted and thoroughly disciplined organization; THEREFORE, Act today! Don't delay.

He who will be free must himself strike the first blow.

What excuse will you offer your children and your race in the days to come for not joining hands with us now and helping to advance the interest of yourself and your race?

Don't you think you are entitled to a living wage? Why should you hang the life of your wife and your child on such an unreliable and weak thread as "tips"? Don't you think they are deserving of a better fate? Join the Brotherhood today and show the world that you are possessed of all those qualities by which a real man is measured.

REMEMBER

"Once to every man and woman
There comes the moment to decide
In the strife 'twixt truth and falsehood
For the good or evil side."

With the overwhelming majority of your Brothers in the service stretching forth their hands to you—this is YOUR moment to decide. Will you fail them?

Your faithful servant,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
General Organizer.

P. S.—Join with your local Secretary-Treasurer or Organizer, or send in your $6.00 to the Headquarters, 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York City, and your membership identification card will be sent you immediately.

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The Messenger

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Business Mgr.

ROY LANCASTER

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Notice to Out of Town Porters

Here Is Where the Brotherhood Meets in New York City and When:

ST. LUKE'S HALL

125 West 130th Street
New York City

For the Month of August:

Friday the Sixth
Wednesday the Eleventh
Wednesday the Eighteenth
Thursday the Twenty-sixth
Tuesday the Thirty-first

All meetings begin promptly at 8:30 P. M.

Every porter should consider it a duty and a privilege to attend these meetings, in order to hear A. Philip Randolph, and keep informed of developments in the rapid forward conquering march of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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HOW RAILWAY LABOR ACT WILL WORK

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

Counsel for the Standard Organized Railway Employes

(Taken from The Railway Maintenance of Way Employes Journal)

The first result of the new Railway Labor Act is to abolish the Railroad Labor Board. The Act goes into effect on the day when signed by the President. At once the old Board ceases to exist; and, the duties and powers of its members and employes end, although their salaries will be paid for 30 days longer.

All the Board records are to be held temporarily by a custodian appointed by the President and then delivered to the new Board of Mediation when its members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

There will be five members of the New Board of Mediation, all serving eventually for terms of five years at a salary of $12,000 a year. The first members will be appointed for one, two, three, four and five years.

All disputes pending before the Labor Board when it passes out must be handled in accordance with the new law, which means that conferences should be arranged promptly between the railroads and the organizations involved for the settlement of these pending disputes by negotiation if possible.

If a prompt settlement is not obtained the disputes should take the course of adjustment, mediation or arbitration indicated in the new law.

Perfecting the Machinery

What are the steps to be taken by the organized employes to promote and protect their interests under the new law?

In the first place there are certain fundamental actions necessary to perfect the machinery of the law which require co-operation between management and employes.

1. The Act makes it the duty of carriers and employes "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements," and to adjust disputes arising out of application of agreements or a desire to change agreements.

If there is in existence an agreement between a railroad and a group or craft of employes which is accepted by both sides—this primary duty has been performed. But if there is no agreement which both parties recognize and there is a controversy over the making of such an agreement, the first question which may arise is: How is an agreement to be obtained?

The law provides that all disputes (which includes a dispute over making an agreement) shall be considered first in conference between "representatives designated and authorized so to confer."

Selecting Representatives

The second question that may arise is: "How shall representatives be designated?"

The law provides that "representatives shall be designated by the respective parties in such manner as may be provided in their corporate organization or unincorporated association; or by other means of collective action, without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representatives by the other."

This means that the employes have the right to organize in any manner they desire and to select representatives who shall be entitled to a conference upon any matter appropriate for consideration between employer and employe.

If employes are organized in national or international unions, they may designate their representatives in accordance with their organization's laws and practices. If they are voluntarily organized in a system or local union, or any other form of association, they may be represented in accordance with their association laws. If they have no permanent organization, but form a protective committee, they may be so represented.

The principal point to be emphasized is that employes must be permitted to organize and to choose their representatives with entire freedom from managerial "interference, influence or coercion."

Negotiating Agreements

What rights may be exercised by these employe representatives?

First, is the right to obtain a conference. It is the duty of the management within 10 days after receiving notice of a desire to confer, to fix a time and place for conference—on the railroad line and within 20 days from receipt of notice. (This requirement may be changed by agreement.)

Second, a reasonable effort is required to settle the dispute.

It should be made clear that a railroad is not required to make a different agreement with every group of employes that chooses representatives and seeks conference. Clearly a uniform agreement should be made to apply to all employes similarly employed. It woud be good managerial policy to negotiate such an agreement with the representatives of as many employes as possible engaged in such work.

The law does not compel the management to make an agreement with any specified representatives. But it does require a conference with any properly authorized representatives who seek conference in order that every reasonable effort should be made to reach agreement.

It may be assumed that the Board of Mediation would support the wishes of a majority of employes as entitled to greater consideration than the wishes of a minority.

Appeal to the Mediators

If employe representatives are unable to settle in conference any dispute (including a dispute over making an agreement) they can then seek the aid of the Government Board of Mediation, provided, however, that grievances or disputes over the application or interpretation of existing agreements should first be handled as follows:

(a) "Up to and including the chief operating officer of the carrier designated to handle disputes." If not settled then—

(b) "Referred to the designated adjustment board," if such a board has been established.

The services of the Board of Mediation may be invoked in all disputes over the making of an agreement or the change of an agreement, which can not be settled in conference. No Adjustment Board has jurisdiction over such a dispute.

Boards of Adjustment

2. The law provides that Boards of Adjustment shall be created by agreement and the principal provisions of such an agreement are set up in the law. These Boards are to be composed of an equal number of management and employe representatives and have jurisdiction over the carrier or carriers, and groups of employes making the agreement. They may be either system boards, regional

(Continued on page 253)

SILK STOCKINGS

By ANITA SCOTT COLEMAN

This is a plain tale of plain people. Have you ever thought about it. . . . How the grand, somebody folks are responsible for all the scandal to be found in yellow journals and the poor nobody folks supply the sob-sisters with material for their columns. . . . But for tragedies from which drama is woven, go to plain everyday folks. . . . For humor, the essence of comedy, ditto—go to plain folks. . . . The reason why here in a nutshell, is; because plain folks never stage their acts. . . . They do not know, so plain are they, that all of tragedy and all of comedy is in each hour of their daily lives. . . .

"There are chords in the human heart, strange varying strings which are only struck by accident." (Accident, no time to stage the effect.) "Which will remain mute and senseless to appeals the most passionate and earnest and respond at last to the slightest casual touch"—(casual, just common, you know.) "In the most insensible or childish minds there is some train of reflection, which art can seldom lead or skill assist; but which will reveal itself, as great truths have done, by chance." There . . . you have the gist of this story. . . . Unless you wish, you need not read on. . . . .

Silk stockings are plain things—that is, to some. . . . And to others, silk stockings belong in the class with grand somebody folks. . . . And to others; silk stockings are sob-sister material. . . .

To a very young person named Nancy Meade, silk stockings were so plain things they were dove-tailed into her mind as necessities along with bread and meat.

To young strapping John Light silk stockings were—well, his mother never wore them. . . .

To the plain villain in this plain tale silk stockings at so much per, were handy articles for appropriating admiration for oneself or for fanning the flames of adoration, as you like, in another. . . .

Little Nancy earned her living by dancing as it was her only paying asset, its plain enough to anybody, why. . . . But she had the reputation of being a good little thing. And all the other girls in "Oh, You Chocolate Dolls" the cheap troupe with which she was booked, called her "The kid" and barring the sheerist mite of raillery which being feminine, at times had a "cattish" trend, let her alone. . . . All the men respected her. . . . Proving that they did so by their immovable reluctance about footing any little bill she might have incurred at an after-the-show-supper or for an off-stage, in between acts—sandwich.

And Nancy not having the means to foot many extras herself kept dutifully at home—"Home" being any place at which the troupe put-up—and in quite lady-like manner plying her needle. Nancy's dissipation was clothes. Pretty clothes . . . ravishing clothes . . . silken clothes. She adored fine laces and thick plushy velvets and she possessed a ferret's nose for scenting out the most expensive and the most exquisite garments in any man's shop. . . . So, the clothes she wore were the sort homely women dream about. . . . Clothes that made her coworkers green with envy. . . . She didn't have money, but she had the knack of putting clothes together with a needle and thread—Her clothes made the chambermaids at the varying hotels pop their eyes and clothes that made women she passed on the street turn about for a second, sometimes even a third, stare. . . .

Nancy was certainly nimble-fingered to a marked degree as well as quick on her toes. . . . She did a great deal of mending, ripping, letting out, altering and remaking. At times she even dyed and pressed lingerie, blouses and dresses; but silk stockings are peculiar things. . . .

Nancy just couldn't make silk stockings. . . . Nor could she alter them—rip them up and make them over. . . . Of course, she might have darned them; but who, being a lover of silk hose wishes to darn them? Who versed in the oddities of silk stockings, even wants to darn them? Whatever your arguments, Nancy did not.

She bought silk stockings like a thoroughbred, wore them like a queen, and discarded them, when they threatened a "run" like any other devotee.

Nancy earned all she got. I have told you how. But she did not get much and with a penchant for finery and an especial longing for silken hosiery. . . . Raise the curtain please . . . here comes the villain.

Gerald Lincoln McKay; do not be glad to meet. . . .

Gerald had kept no accurate account of his "scalps," the term he used for his numerous lady-loves with whom he had played around with and discarded. He was actually a connoisseur of ladies . . . and just as cold-blooded in his tactics with them as any critical judge of antiques and art. He spoke of the gentler sex as types. . . . He would say:

"That Mrs. West. . . . Ah, yes. . . . Your red-hot mamma type. . . . Little Elfie Sanders . . . sure I know her . . . real baby type. . . . Ida Moss. . . . By the way, there now, is your Kitten type. . . . He would stroke his long chin and run his eyes over a roomful of girls and coment: "Not an innocent type here—la, la, that kind's passing."

Few men enjoyed his presence. But the devil having engineered his transportation into this realm had seen to it, that he pleased the ladies. His was a long sallow face, ivory-colored. . . . His was the hair women delight to pass their hands through, soft, and thick, and wavy, and he kept it scented. . . . And he possessed that indeterminate orb, which poets call soulful. . . . .

Speaking of his eyes. . . . "There'd come a moment," the girls said. . . . "When you would be studying 'bout. . . . Oh, nothing at all and you'd glance up at Gerald"—he was gracefully tall.—"And you'd feel—oh, you couldn't explain it—and the next thing you'd be—according to your type—hugging him or he'd be hugging you . . ."

As you might know the innocent type was Gerald's particular prey. . . . It did him good. Gave a zest to his life. . . . Kept him keen for battle. . . . Sharpened his weapons. . . . Appeased his appetite to prove the innocent little things not innocent at all . . .

At first sight of Nancy, Gerald girthed himself for battle.

He really had a way with women. . . . And Nancy was soon glowing and beaming under his expert tutelage.

That love transforms a woman is not altogether true; because a woman can love most earnestly a thousand years; if that were possible, and none would ever know it, so far as any difference it may make in her ability to scintillate and dazzle; but give her a lover, one who feeds her vanity; now then, we have the secret of the transformation.

Nancy was not in love with Gerald, thank heaven. Yet, probably time would have wrought real havoc had not Providence moved John Silas Light straight onto the stage . . . when the scene was set for the entrance of the hero.

John Silas Light, a torch-bearer. Perhaps you have never heard of him and have never caught the glimmer of his torch. Often, girls had declared to one another: "They wouldn't have him. He is too slow" . . . but each had locked in the closed chamber of her heart, the fervent hope; that beneath her fiancé's dashing qualities, were hidden and waiting for marriage to reveal them, the sterling attributes of a John Silas Light.

He is likely to be the fellow who goes to work at six o'clock every morning and eats lunch from a tin-pail at noon, finding the cold lumpy food palatable; because "his old gal" prepared it. He goes straight home, when he is off the job and once there, he is apt to become ridiculous while at play with a couple of kids. . . . For strangely

enough, considering his length and girth, he can conform his proportions to a ginger-bread-man's or a squealing pig's and he can march and growl like Bruin, the bear. And, too, he is a bit of a bore always annoying the gang with harping about his wife and his wonder-baby; but then, you can borrow a portion of his pay-check and so long as he thinks you "square," he will go hungry before ever asking you to "hand" it back. And without really meaning to, you fall into the habit of letting your trouble-some ten-year-old spend his evenings over to his house. . . . Rests you so, to have him some safe place out of the way. . . . Besides, all the other youngsters in the neighborhood are there.

Nancy's John Silas Light revered all women—smile if you want to—because his mother was; as was the Holy Virgin, a woman. He hated to see women carrying bundles or cranking cars, he always wanted to assist them; and, because often, he could not, owing to convention and because of color, made all there was of pathos in his plain existence.

As often as not, he over-stepped convention in a straight-forward, big-hearted way. But he could neither side-step nor over-step color, and to attempt "stepping on it" was like stepping upon a puncture-proof air mattress, it merely bulged in another place. So, he was rapidly becoming soured. The warping things of life often does that to the John Silas Lights; just as time and heat turns sweet milk to clabber.

He was becoming worn as an old shoe is worn and he needed polishing and brightening up. . . . And what better than to have a blithe, pretty creature like Nancy dance right into his heart?

John sat in the front row and watched Nancy's face or perhaps, all of her winsome body, instead of just her legs. . . . He thought her adorable.

And Nancy, strange as it may sound, saw John from across the foot-lights and straightway forgot to perform for her audience. . . . She began dancing just for him. . . .

Yes. . . . It was done . . . the portrayal of your hero and heroine's love-making; but it takes too fine writing for this plain tale. . . .

Hence:—John and Nancy were married the forthcoming Spring as soon as her contract ended.

And, mind you, John didn't even have the ciphers to a bank account, nor did he give a single fig for silk stockings. . . .

John was a worshipper of women and as most worshippers are, had not the wit to discover why they were so easy to worship. It's a common saying, that when a woman is ugly it is her own fault. A louse can interpret the meaning; but not so John. . . . Such a cue as the following gave no light to him. . . . There's a cream for every face. . . . A style for every figure. . . . Fabrics to match the style and colors to match complexions. . . . And where is the leg that is unsightly in a nice silk stocking?

A moral daubed on at the end spoils any good story; but taking it right in the middle hits the nail on the head and it drives in without hurting a thumb. The moral is here, but find it. . . .

John was inordinately happy. He forgot to sulk because the Creator had run into dark colors when he happened along. . . . In due time, he threw all doubts, all fears, and all precautions to the four winds and became a father.

Blithe Nancy emerged from the ordeal in no wit daunted. She was as girlishly rounded as ever; as nimble upon her toes as ever and far more eager for pretty new clothes. . . .

Many of her prenuptial garments had been cut up and done over into the prettiest, cunningest baby things you ever saw. . . . You can't blame Nancy for expecting a whole new outfit for herself as soon as this baby-business was over. She did not get it. . . . She cast subtle hints and talked largely of all her clothes being "rags" and complaining childishly "that she didn't have a thing to wear." . . . All to no use.

Then, in a desperate moment, she quite matter of factly, asked John to buy her some stockings. . . .

Now, John's mother was a thick stoutish, old-fashioned lady who did not believe silk was silk unless it "rustled," and had all her life encased her legs in cotton. John, manifesting the contrariness of man, immediately, upon hearing Nancy's request, settled his thoughts upon the stockings his mother had worn and never once thought of—he could have looked for that matter—the stockings his wife was wearing.

That evening he gave Nancy the stockings which he had dutifully bought. . . . Hanging about wistfully to watch her unwrap them, so that he might witness her delight. . . . But Nancy was yet coy enough not to. She waited to be alone and one glance at them . . . those awful stockings! made her cry herself to sleep.

Next morning, for the first time since her marriage, Nancy began an appraisal of "This man I now wed." A fatal moment in the lives of married folks. A ripe moment for Love to set his thumb to his nose, spread his wings and fly out of the window to escape Satan, who enters the door. . . .

Completely out of sorts and bitter because of the scurvy trick life had played her. . . . Scurvy? It was worse, if she was never to have any more nice things to wear. Why—what was the use in living?

She put Baby to sleep and ran out to the grocery. One had to go on eating and drinking. . . . Drinking and eating even if they had to wear horrid, horrible stockings. . . . Tears blinded her. She could not see . . . the human fashion-plate that stopped short at sight of her.

"By the Lord, it's Nancy," he exclaimed and set himself to the task, no art, of making her see him. . . .

Angrily, Nancy dashed the tears from her eyes and quickened her pace. . . . She wouldn't be a weeping pillow . . . not for . . . not for twenty Johns. . . . If he wanted her to be old and ugly. . . . If——

"Why, Gerald! . . .

"'Lo Nan—Pardon . . . er, ah, er, Mrs.—er, Light."

The name accompanied with a real girlish giggle, supplemented by Nancy.

They entered the Grocer's and Gerald stood by, while she made her purchases. Gerald carried her tiny parcels and walked with her to her gate.

"Oh, no, he couldn't possible 'come in.' That, he reasoned was too free and above board. . . . And being free and above board is never good diplomacy when you are weighed down with motives that are about fifty leagues under board.

Gerald felt that John had spoiled his fishing, pushed him away from a mighty lovely stream. . . . And if he could sneak back and muddy the stream, he would be willing to call it "quits." As for Nancy, pshaw, her type was usually flighty. He would be careful not to go too far. All he wanted was to make the "old joker" jealous. It would be wise not to start visiting. The old fool would consider the visits to him. He would never suspect a man who came to his home openly.

Gerald laughed in his sleeve at his own imagining of John asking him to "Come in." Welcoming him in his hearty way. . . . Calling to Nancy to fix a bit to eat. . . . Offering him a cigar. . . . Showing him the baby, bragging, like the donkey that he was. He pictured John following him to the door, down the walk, out to the gate and sending his big voice after him far down the street, calling "Come again." . . .

Gerald was a clever craftsman, he manoeuvered adroitly.

Nancy started slipping out to meet him. They would drop into a "movie" while it was dark and steal out again through the throbbing, people-jammed blackness. They would wander about and find a snug seat in the park where the night-scent from flowers and shrubbery pressed upon them while they exchanged confidences. . . .

"Well, you see if you had stuck to me. . . ."

"Oh, Gerald. . . ."

"You couldn't expect a dub——"

"Now don't you dare say a word 'bout John. . . ."

"I wasn't saying nothin' at all 'bout him (damning John under his breath). "I was going to say you couldnt expect a dub like me to win anybody like you——"

"Oh, Gerald," mournfully.

"Ah, yes, it's oh, Gerald, but you keep on sticking to that big st—, er John. . . . Why don't you leave him? Come and go with me. . . . Come on, honey. . . . You're not happy. . . . You couldn't be. . . . Answer me, honey. . . .

There would be a faint sob. . . . Yes, indeed, poor Nancy was unhappy, terribly torn with conflicting emotions. . . . What with actually praying for John to rise up some evening and order her to stay home and see that she obeyed him, instead of saying:—"Don't stay out any later than ten Nannie. . . . At half past ten to the dot, old Sonny-boy wakes up and yells for you. . . . Enjoy yourself but don't forget the time. . . ." And what with being elated at having Gerald make love to her. . . . Why, it actually proved that she didn't look badly, in cheap horrid clothes, after all.

Anyway, John was doing all he could for her and baby and it didn't really matter even if she was "naked." . . . Only Gerald did have such exquisite taste. . . . And John—she fancied she could see him sitting at home, alone, his shoes kicked off and his feet in those thick, ridged, speckled socks he wore. . . . Suddenly she wanted to be there also; but under the circumstances, of course, she couldn't be, so instead, she snuggled ever so slightly towards Gerald.

Ever and ever so slightly; but then Gerald was there, strung like a ukelele, waiting for that very, mouse-like movement. With no further ado, he took her in his arms and held her. Merely laughing at her stifled little "don'ts," and expertly wiping away her tears with kisses.

Afterwards: . . . Nancy slipping, darting, even dodging back home. Letting herself cautiously into her own house. Resorting to slyness to cover up her entrance. Shivering like a too-daring mouse whilst making ready to get into bed. The thrills of the evening all drowned in a deluge of panic, lest John awaken. . . . Guilty tears dropping silently against the pillow and finally sleep, dreamless and unbroken, until daylight. . . . Awakening in a drowsy contentment, aware that her head is pilowed upon John's curving arm and that he is snoring outrageously. Leaping up, with the knowledge; that drenched her in a pleasurable shower, that she must make ready his breakfast. . . . Altogether pleased with her plain, humdrum duties—happy to be John's wife. . . .

But later in the day thoughts of the night before smudges her pleasure. . . . She insists to herself that she has acted quite alright. Of course, Gerald knew, she didn't mean a thing. Bolstering her wilted convictions with one of Gerald's glib speeches:

"She needn't be a dead one, just 'cause she was married."

It was later than usual. Each time it got later than usual. Long since, John had "turned in" to lie down beside Sonny-boy so that Sonny would hush crying for her and had dropped off himself, into a heavy slumber. The door was unlocked and only the hall-light left burning. Nancy thought of all this and felt sure she hated John. What right had he to give her so much rope. It was his duty to take care of her just as it was hers to care for Sonny-boy. And what care woud she be giving Sonny-boy if she never questioned his coming or his going and accepted everything he did, as a matter of course. "It was John's business to guard his own castle." Gerald's eloquence. . . . She actually believed he would not care—didn't care enough about her to even care what she did. Besides, here she was away from home and it was ever so late and he was at home in bed—of course, he didn't care. . . . Of a sudden, she was replying to Gerald's query, and her answer was—yes.

They had a long way to go. Nancy would not take a cab and Gerald assuming precautions he did not feel, led her a roundabout route, turning numerous corners, crossing many streets, traversing block after block. . . . To while away the time, Gerald said sweet things to Nancy and kept squeezing her hand which lay on his arm.

The moon shone brightly, not giving light, as does the sun—for men to behold minutely but only to dazzle man's vision with a radiance.

Even the houses Nancy passed were washed in radiance and sketched into the tapestry of night, beautiful as fairy-places. . . . The tree-leaves were knitted into laces to lay against the silver shine of moon, and all about, was the magic of silver and old lace. . . . A dazzling, light and queer things became discernible.

Nancy was no longer listening to Gerald's silly speeches. She was thinking. . . . She had come upon "Some train of reflection which art can seldom lead or skill assist; but which will reveal itself as great truths have done, by chance." Idly, she began to pick out objects that were distinguishable in the moonlight. It grew fascinating. And she laughed aloud, when the luminous light dazzled her eyes into seeking awry. . . . She sought to share her fun with Gerald, who, somehow—silly little Nancy even remarked:—that Gerald was never good company, unless he was playing at love. . . . He was an adept at oogling and talking baby-talk. . . . But his oogles never included the beggar down on the corner and cause him to drop a coin into the old beggar's hat . . . as did John. . . . Nor did it ever include a wistful child with his face pressed to the window of a candy-shop. Once they had come across the Widow Green's boy, with his face glued to a show-window. She remembered the child's expectant grin when he caught the sound of her voice. . . . How eagerly he had wheeled about, thinking to see John, and his disappointment—that was not allayed—at sight of Gerald.

Nancy was thinking, at last. . . .

Gerald would not join her in the pastime though she went on tripping along beside him, with her hand still lying upon his arm. . . . She saw many, many things, some masquerading in the moonlight so well, until she could not, try as she would, discover what they were; others startlingly distinct.

They were alongside a yard, a homelike yard with a low picket fence, that set jamb-up to the pavement. A paling clamped to the fence, was one of the supports for a clothes-line which swung across the yard. A portion of the line was very near the walk and a wash had been left out to sway and flap and swish in the breeze. . . . A pillow slip bulged grotesquely and flapped and popped like a toy-pistol, and swung limply waiting to be charged again with the soft night air.

Nancy's eyes swept the clothes-line, then settled in a fixed stare at something there upon. . . .

At the same moment Gerald belched—he was quite near his destination. . . . "Moonlight is meant for lovers. . . ."

He was surprised out of all his smug niceties by the scream close under his ear that started to be shrill, then choked. . . . Nancy had snatched her hand from within the crook of his arm, before he could collect his scattered wits . . . and was fleeing like a mad thing back down the path they had come. . . . For an instant in his great astonishment, Gerald was struck by the beauty of that flight—a swift shadow vanishing in a silver mist—

But soon he was mumbling to himself, "What did she see? . . ."

"Ugh——," he shuddered. . . . "Ugh," he complained again. "He was done with Nancy; wouldn't have no woman who could see things that-a-way." He muttered, stumbled, and continued on his way. . . .

While the night winds swayed the clothesline until it set to jerking, curiously, as if feet were in them kicking, a man's sox, cheap and coarse, even in the moonlight, and beside them dancing—the cream of silk and wool, pink at heel and toe; the finest they could buy——

An infant's tiny stockings. . . .

Indeed. . . . "There are chords in the human heart strange varying strings, which are only struck by accident. . . . Chords, which remain mute and senseless to appeals the most passionate and earnest—that respond at last, to the slightest, casual touch. . . ."

TO THE NEW YOUTH

By WINSLOW OLDSMITH

(Address Delivered Before Negro-Caucasian Club of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 8, 1926)

It is only fair to myself and you to tell you at the outset that I am not a professional speaker, and that I do not presume to come here to lecture to you, or to impress you with my ability. I am necessarily conscious of my shortcomings in such an undertaking as this. It is because I believe that a new day of student activity and co-operation lies before us, and in order to speed its coming we should take advantage of every possible opportunity for acquainting ourselves with the other youth who are striving for enlightenment. The exchange of experience, the mutual sharing of attitudes, the frank and open discussion of our problems and ideals, are all important factors in the preparation of us who are going to take up and carry on this great project of human brotherhood. Wherefore I come to you for the purpose of getting acquainted; to bring you my point of view, and to carry away yours; to share with you my experience and learn from yours; it is my earnest hope that I shall gain much from this meeting. That is the only excuse for my coming.

Tonight I am going to talk on youth, because I am not qualified to talk on anything else. Like many other young people I feel that we are called to be leaders in the New Order, and that in many of the present problems if anything is to be accomplished, Youth must lead the way. Now, when I talk of youth, I mean that type of youth which we here represent. I am aware that we are a remnant. The majority of young people belong to the conservative element. However, I contend that there are more of us who are facing the facts than there are of the older group. By reason of being here, you signify your readiness to face the truth.

I said I believed that youth must lead the way. There are many reasons for holding that conviction. I can speak only a few reasons why I believe the youth are particularly qualified to engage in new movements. First is his physical equipment. The normal youth with good health only realizes his strength and feels capable of attacking any obstacle, but he has a great desire to make the attack, just, perhaps, to see if he can. He loves struggles and conquests for their own sake. Difficulties attack him. In short, he wants to be in things, to start something.

Another reason which to my mind makes youth particularly fitted to lead the way, is found in part of his make-up, which I shall call spiritual. If some of you should object to that term, all I can say is, I like it. I do not mean pious, and holy, in the old orthodox sense. I mean those things of the spirit—intellectual and emotional of the mind and soul, rather than the blood and bone and nerve. (I do not know enough about phychology or sociology to be troubled with the use of words. You students of Sociology and Psyschology will just have to put up with me in this.) These qualities which I have called spiritual are closely related to the physical in as much as abundant health predisposes to abundant spirits.

One of the spiritual characteristics is that inward force which gives us to see visions, and dream dreams. It is the tendency to think of things in the ideal, in their glorious potentialities rather than as they actually are. This quality of youth is appreciated most keenly when one is passed beyond his youth. It is then he looks back and says:

> There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight
> To me did seem
> Apparell'd in celestial light,
> The glory and the freshness of a dream.

Youth is that time *before* experiences have disheartened and disillusioned and made cynical; *before* the long continued suffering has made us realize the futility of the struggle; before the sad day comes when we, too, can say:

> It is not now as it hath been of yore;—
> Turn whereso'er I may,
> By night or day,
> The things which I have seen I now can see no more.

We *can* see them now, these dreams and ideals, and we must build well and high on them before they too have passed away. What disappointments we have suffered have not ben sufficient to crush the nature buoyancy of youth. Because of the very limitations of experience we have not learned to fear, to be cautious, to be conservative. Rather we are bold. We dare to do, and we must, to pave the way for others who will follow. For every brave to lead, there will be a dozen semi-brave to follow.

Another quality found more particularly in young people is the persistent URGE for progress. It is closely related to the desire to express the unfolding personality. It is the irresistible force of Evolution working out in each one as a part the greater progress of Nature as a whole. This Urge within makes us dissatisfied with nearly everything as it is. It wants change, and improvement, and progress, and ever-widening opportunities. Do not infer that I think older people have none of this desire. Not at all. But I do think it is more evident in youth. The struggles for an existence, the responsibilities of home and family, the business obligations, the many compromises which the older folks have had to make, have all worked together to diminish their ardor for change. This idea of the Urge within has been strikingly expressed by Don Marquis in his *"Unrest"*. He pictures the individual Urge as part and parcel of the greater Urge which motivates the whole Universe. He even intimates that all progress has come from the realization of a need for progress.

> A fierce unrest seethes at the core
> Of all existing things:
> It was the eager wish to soar
> That gave the gods their wings.
>
> From what flat wastes of cosmic slime
> And stung by what quick fire
> Sunward the restless races climb
> When risen out of mire
>
> But for the urge of this unrest
> These joyous sphere are mute,
> But for the rebel in his breast
> Had man remained a brute.
>
> When baffled lips demanded speech
> Speech trembled into birth
> (One day the lyric word shall reach
> From earth to laughing earth.)
>
> When man's dim eyes demanded light
> The light he sought was born.
> His wish, a Titan, scaled the height
> And flung him back the morn!
>
> From deed to dream, from dream to deed,
> From daring hope to hope,
> The restless wish, the instant need,
> Still lashed him up the slope!

Then in words which might well be taken as a challenge and a battle-cry, he concludes,

> I sing no governed firmament
> Cold, ordered, regular,—
> I sing the stinging discontent
> That leaps from star to star!

A further reason why I believe that youth must lead the way into new paths of freedom lies again in his very lack of experiences. He has not had time to become so set in his ways. Change is easy, and as I have already said, some sort of change is imperative. And the prospect of Change is delightful. Here again he has the advantage of the older people. It does not hurt the youth to change as it does an older person. He has had time to become moulded into definite shape; he has not, through years of adjustment, become accustomed to, and satisfied with certain paths of thought and action. We must not blame the older folks for their slowness and seeming lethargy in taking up with new and important measures. It causes them genuine pain and suffering to change a thought or habit of years. That is another reason why we must take up the burden.

These are a few of the facts that lead me to the conviction that it is both fitting and necessary for youth to "start something." And now let me speak briefly of the costs. It will cost something. Sure, anything worth while costs. Whatever we choose to do will cost more or less. Since we shall have to pay anyhow, we may as well choose a big principle to pay for. In this matter of Interracial Cooperation, or brotherhood, or democracy,—I do not care what you wish to call it,—probably one of the first costs is one's family. I speak of this because I know that some of you have already met this. It was something I had to face and make a choice. I saw that I could not be a dutiful daughter, and be true to certain fundamental principles of democracy, as I saw them. It meant leaving home and moderate comforts, and journeying afar, to a life of labors and sorrows. At first I was lonely, but as I grew to the realization of what it all meant, I gained a breadth of view which has more than compensated. It is true that I have lost a family, but I have gained a world. In a way, this inevitable break with home ties is an advantage. It leaves one free to go farther ahead than if he were hampered by the unwise affections of a loving family.

There are other costs: perhaps the giving up of friends who might have been good comrades,—with a compromise; —possibly the sacrifice of certain business advantages; and most probably the renunciation of any social ambitions, if one is to live his convictions before the world. Any one who espouses the causes of justice, and right, freedom and democracy, must be willing to suffer for them. And this is especially true in the matter of racial adjustment. But if you have love of justice in your soul, you *have* to do it. With Martin Luther, "By the grace of the Living God, I can do no other."

In this connection, I like to think that the first stanza of Arthur O'Shaughnessy's *Ode* pictures us who have accepted the challenge.

> We are the music-makers.
> We are the dreamers of dreams,
> Wandering by lone sea-breakers
> And sitting by desolate streams;
> World losers, and world forsakers,
> On whom the pale moon gleams,
> Yet,—we are the movers and shakers
> Of the world forever, it seems.

I spoke a moment ago of "freedom and democracy." It seems to me to be not a matter of choice, but of sacred duty for youth to enter the fight for freedom and democracy. You know, of course, that we have neither at present. We are slaves physically and spiritually. We are slaves physically as long as we suffer industrial exploitation. We are slaves spiritually as long as we are afraid to face facts. Lowell says:

> They are slaves who fear to speak
> For the fallen and the weak;
> They are slaves who will not choose
> Hatred, scoffing, and abuse
> Rather than in silence shirk
> From the truth they need must think.
> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three.

Which one of us is not enslaved? The only democracy we have is what we fight for. The only democracy anywhere is the organized effort to achieve and maintain liberty. I was talking the other day with Dr. Park of our Sociology department. He expressed the opinion that the only democracy we have lies in the efforts of suppressed groups to emerge from their suppression. Their fight for freedom *is* democracy. We spoke of several cases. In every one the keynote was the organization of a group of people to fight their rights. The present generation of youth in India and China are fighting to emerge from the suppression of political, educational and religious domination. You are too familiar with the Youth Movements all over the world for me to speak of them. We have another illustration nearer home, in the struggle of the Oriental youth on the Pacific Coast to find their place in the society of which, by reason of their birth and education, they are an integral part. The organizations in the schools and colleges against compulsory Military Training is an attempt to secure freedom. Such isues as the Indianapolis, Washington and Detroit Segregation cases, where people have to fight for their rights before the courts, are yet more examples of the same thing:—an effort to maintain a semblance of freedom and democracy. In the work of A. Philip Randolph to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, we have a significant illustration of an attempt to make the world of labor safe for democracy.

You remember Lowell said, "They have rights who dare maintain them." Soon we shall have no rights unless we dare fight for them. If, then, Democracy is a continuous fight to maintain rights, we young people have as great an opportunity to help establish Democracy in America today, as did George Washington, Lafayette, or Crispus Attucks in the days of old. It is our duty to our country and ourselves to wake up to the importance of these struggles for Democracy. They existed in every phase of life, industrially, religiously, and educationally. The problems of labor, child-labor, women in industry; the right to free speech and free press,—look at Mencken, Debs, and Scott Nearing; the Harvard Discrimination Act; are but a few one could mention. Everywhere we may turn we are confronting conditions which need to be exposed and rooted ou.t

But I shall not dwell on these. I judge all here are primarily interested in this matter of justice and freedom as it relates specifically to the American Negro. Of this, the problems are legion. I could not begin to cover them. The ones I shall speak of are not necessarily the most important, or the most urgent. They are, however, ones which are uppermost in my mind just now. They are representative of the pertinent problems of the day. First of all is the superiority-inferiority-complex. I take it for granted that every white student here realizes that Nordic-Superiority, or any other race-superiority is a myth, notwithstanding Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard to the contrary. I assume that every colored student here is emancipated from the inferiority-complex, and that not one of you will ever accept a status given you on account of color. I trust you are all with me in this. I speak of it because it has been my observation that some people of color are satisfied to accept lower positions than they deserve. The only limitation of achievement is individual ability. It is easy to be self-sympathetic and excuse one's self on the grounds of difficulties and the barriers which surround one. It is not only easy, it is often justifiable. But, justifiable, or not, such an attitude will *never* make for progress.

Dr. Lewis has given this very clear expression. Some of you Alpha men will recognize this, but it is worth repeating. Dr. Lewis stressed the necessity of striving in whatever field you are in to be one of the greatest in that field, not simply one of the greatest Negroes in that field. The Science student should aim to be a great *Scientist*, not a great Negro Scientist; a doctor to be a great *doctor*, not a great Negro doctor; the art student to be a great artist, not a great Negro artist; otherwise he labors under self-imposed limitations. Of course, it is true, that should he come to be one of the greatest scientists in the world like Ernest Just, or a great doctor like Dan Williams, or one of

the greatest artists, like Tanner, or musicians, like Hayes, he would still be a Negro. But when he has achieved such greatness and recognition, his race is not the important qualification, but rather his contribution to the world. Therefore, let your aims transcend the limiting confines of race.

Speaking of Hayes, you know that in the minds of many critics of high repute, Hayes is the greatest tenor in the world. The box-office men consider him as much of an attraction as Galli-Curci or Chaliapin. Certainly Hayes is a great Negro Tenor, but he is also far more. He is a World Tenor. By the way, Hayes is one of these men who is making the world safe for democracy. He will not accept a second-rate place. I wonder if we appreciate what he has done for us. Aside from the incalculable good he has accomplished for artists in commanding recognition, he has made a very practical contribution by way of opening concert halls to musicians of color. Let me tell you what he has done for my city, which, I suppose, typical of what he has done for many other backward communities. I have not missed one of his concerts there. During the last three years particularly I have seen him educate the white music world. At his earliest concerts he sang to half-capacity audiences. From my seat I could pick out the white people scattered over the hall. There were around a hundred. It is a question if all of them were white. At each succeeding concert the audience has increased and especially the white audience. The reception and applause has grown enormously. Last fall when the concert was well advertised, he sang to a stage audience, and several hundred were turned away. At his concert two weeks ago, the hall was practically sold out two days before the concert, although there had been very little advertising, only a one-inch notice in the music columns of some of the papers. The interesting thing about this last audience was that it was as white as his earlier ones had been dark. I could count the dark folks scattered over the hall. I think I am not exaggerating in saying that the last two concerts established a new standard of music. Of course, you know that I love Hayes, and his art, and you may feel inclined to discount my enthusiasm, but I'm telling you, he has raised the city of the stock-yards to Carnegie Hall Standards.

I do not *know* the details of his first appearance here, but I have been given to understand that he had trouble in securing Orchestra Hall. After he opened the Hall, a series of recitals and concerts followed. Julius Bledsoe, Paul Robeson, and Lawrence Brown, George Garner and other colored Artists have appeared there. Garner, you know, won the contest to sing with the Symphony Orchestra. Opening concert halls is only one thing Hayes has done. You will remember what happened in Atlanta last fall, when after a promise to the contrary the audience was jimcrowed. True, it was done vertically instead of horizontally, but is there any essential difference in the *fact* of *segregation?* You know also what happened a few days later when they tried to pull off the same stunt in a more northerly city; he kept the audience waiting until the seating arrangement was readjusted, and *not* on a basis of color. I hate most awfully, to have Roland Hayes, a man who walks on earth but whose head is in heaven, get mixed up in these sordid, disputes over that egregious custom of segregation. It hurts his art, and art like his is too holy to be desecrated. But,—and I can't see it any other way,—if he is going to sing in the South, he *must not* sing to jimcrowed audiences.

I could talk forever about Hayes, but I must come down to earth and mention some of the things which I believe we as youth must face. One of the most important is the Christian Church, on this subject of brotherhood. We've got to look at this. If we are in the church, we look from the inside; if we are not, we look from the outside—but inside or out, we cannot fail to see the same thing, in the large, HYPOCRISY. Can a nation claim to be a Christian nation when it lynched more than a dozen souls last year, and one of them a boy of fifteen, taken from a sick-bed in the hospital? Can we call ourselves Christians when our fellow-citizens have to protect their homes and babies by force of arms, and are then compelled to face the state's charge of murder, like our friends back yonder in Detroit? Can our legislators assume themselves Christian, and representing Christian people, when they attempt to take away from some of their constituency the legal right of marriage? These are but a few, but they are typical of the issues which the folks who are talking about the Christian principles of brotherhood must face. In speaking about the church I have no desire to call the past generations hypocrites. I leave them out completely. Let the dead past bury its dead. I am talking to you all here, now. WE shall be HYPOCRITES if we fail to strike these things.

Let me tell you something which happened not long ago in Chicago. One of the Colored Students of the Divinity School was invited to speak in a white church near the University. At the request of the minister he took with him a group of young colored women who took the place of the regular choir and sang a number of Spirituals. The minister carried on the service as usual until time for the sermon. All this while the student had been sitting on the platform in full sight of the entire congregation. Then he was very graciousy introduced by the minister as "one of our University neighbors." The young man rose to speak, but before he opened his mouth, a woman, leading a young child by the hand, got up and paraded down the aisle, remarking quite audibly as she went, "Well, this is *too* much, having a nigger in the church." The funny thing was she had listened with evident pleasure to the young ladies and their Jubilees. They, too, had been in plain sight.

Now, not considering the hideous display of vulgarity on the part of this good sister, who was no doubt from the jungles of Louisiana, where was the Christianity she probably believed she possessed? And what was her opinion of the rest of that Christian congregation, that she should have dared to disturb them with their exhibition of anti-Christian principles? This student-guest was in a delicate position, but he did the only thing to do under the circumstance: he preached a most eloquent sermon on the practical application of Christian principles to race-relations. The only shame was that the good sister who most needed his message was absent.

I could entertain you with some of the interesting inconsistencies and some very extraordinary episodes which attended the exchange of pastors last February on Race-Relations Sunday. But I do not want to spend too much time and energy hammering the church. I have only to say: We have a tremendous duty to perform here, before *we* can lay *our* crowns at Jesus' feet.

Let us look at this matter of labor exploitation. This is especially true in the case of the Negro, and particularly the Negro women. Of course, we realize that exploitation is fundamentally a class struggle, and not a racial issue. But you will agree that because the Negro wears a badge he can't take off, he is especially discriminated against. He cannot take the color off his face, the way his brother takes the insky off his name, and escape into the capitalist class.

This matter of unions needs look looking into. Already there are faint gleams of light. We see cases, like the longshoreman's strike in New York, where colored and white workers were united against colored and white strike-breakers. This shows it is not essentially a race-issue. This is a glimpse of what the struggle must come to, and the working class must be educated to realize the true state of affairs. In the meantime more immediate troubles claim our attention. Take the case of the porters. I know of nothing in current history more significant than the undertaking to organize 12,000 porters to fight for their rights against the powerful interests. These porters have in A. Philip Randolph a far-sighted, fearless leader. He will get justice because he dares to fight for it. One of the saddest evidences of the need of leaders is shown in the way certain so-called race-leaders,-publishers, have tried to plant suspicion and distrust for Randolph among the porters by telling them Pullman is their friend. I have wondered how much it costs the Pullman interests to keep

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QUOTH BRIGHAM YOUNG:—THIS IS THE PLACE

By WALLACE THURMAN

I am fully aware of what Brigham Young had in mind when he uttered the above enthusiastic statement, yet try tho I may the most enthusiastic thing that I can find to say about my home state and its capitol city is that it invariably furnishes me with material for conversation. It does not matter to whom I am talking, whether it be Jew or Gentile, black or white, Baptist or Episcopalian, thief or minister, when the conversation begins to lag I can always casually introduce the fact that I was born in Utah, and immediately become the centre of attraction nonchalantly answering the resultant barrage of questions. I find that I can even play this trick on the same group of persons more than once, for it seems as if they never tire asking—Do Mormons still have more than one wife? —Do they look different from other people?—How many wives did Brigham Young have?—Are there any Negro Mormons?—Can one really stay afloat in the Great Salt Lake without sinking?—and thus they continue ad infinitum, and I might also add—ad nauseam. Nevertheless it is amusing at times, and, as I say, it is for this reason alone that Utah has one warm spot in my rather chilled heart, for whenever I stop to remember the many dull hours I spent there, and the many dull people I spent them with, even that aforementioned warm spot automatically begins to grow cold.

Utah was a wilderness composed of ore laden mountains, fertile valleys, and desert wastes frequented only by trappers and Indians when the Mormons, an outlaw religious sect believing in and practising polygamy, settled there. These Mormons had treked over half of the continent in search of a spot where they could found a settlement, earn their livelihood from the soil, and indulge in their religious peculiarities unmolested by their pernicious brethren in God who insisted that they practise other religious peculiarities. They had been run out of Illinois, they had been run out of Missouri and Kansas and they had forged their way over miles of Nebraska prairie land, miles of Wyoming sage brush hills, and miles of mountain trails before they finally stood on a peak overlooking the beautiful Salt Lake valley, surrounded by the Wasatch range of the Rocky Mountains, and cheered when their intrepid leader, Brigham Young, shouted: This is the place!

Once they had found this suitable site the Mormons, under expert leadership, founded their mundane Zion, named their townsite Salt Lake City after the great inland sea nearby, christened the crooked river that ran around the city's outskirts—the Jordon, cultivated the rich farm lands, carried on a profitable trade with the Indians, began to raise stock, and started the construction of their sacrosanct religious temple and tabernacle, which stand today as monuments to their super-achievement.

Things hummed in the new town. Cattle carts lumbered down rocky mountain trails carrying the big stones that were being used in building the temple. Gold rushers, bound for the coast, stopped and sometimes stayed if they felt like braving the arrogant hostility of the Mormon fathers. Square blocks of land were apportioned off to the various churchmen, who energetically erected primitive homes for themselves and their wives. The great tithing square on the site where the renowned Hotel Utah now stands, teemed with people pouring in from the surrounding countryside to pay their tithes, while the public watering ground, where the Salt Lake City and county building was later built, was crowded with overland wagon trains, and Mormon visitors from nearby settlements, for Zion had soon overflowed and mushroom towns appeared overnight in the immediate vicinity. Zion flourished, Zion grew wealthy, and Zion grew more holy per se.

However all mundane paradises seem subject to an invasion by the devils forces, and the Mormon Zion was no exception, for the devil's forces soon came in the persons of non-Mormons, derisively called Gentiles. Like most gold seekers of their day (and are gold seekers ever any different?) they wanted only the chance to garner gold—damn how they got it or how they suffered meanwhile. So Zion was invaded, and Zion soon succumbed to a wave of prosperity, progress and prostitution, and the transcontinental railroad, which had its east-west junction near Ogden, was the most telling blow dealt by the Gentiles.

The result was pitiful. Thousands of easterners came pouring in to see whether or not these Mormons really had horns, and finding that they were not so endowed by nature decided to stay and break down the Mormon wall around the natural wealth of the state. The Mormons put up a brave battle while Brigham Young lived, but after his death there was a complete debacle. Utah was finally forced to come into the Union, and for coming in she had to abolish polygamy, and lose her individuality, for from that day on Utah was just another state, peopled by a horde of typical American booboisie with their bourgeoisie overloads, and today Utah is a good example of what Americanization and its attendant spores can accomplish.

I have as yet made no mention of the Negro, and this article is suposed to fit into the series called—"These Colored United States." For the moment I wish to quibble, and assert that there are no Colored United States, *id est*, no state in the Union where the Negro has been an individual or vital factor. As George S. Schuyler is so fond of saying all Aframericans are merely lampblack whites steeped in American culture (?) and standardization. When it comes to such localities as Harlem, the south side black belt of Chicago, the Central Avenue district of Los Angeles, the Seventh Street district in Oakland, the North 24th Street district in Omaha, the Vine Street district in Kansas City, the Beale Street district in Memphis, and similiar districts in Atlanta, Charleston, New Orleans, Houston, El Paso, Richmond, Birmingham, et cetera one might write of these as colored cities, for it is there that the Aframerican spirit manifests itself, achieving a certain individuality that is distinguishable from that achieved in similiar white districts despite all the fervent protests of Brother Schuyler to the contrary. What I am leading to is this, that to write of "These Colored United States" is to be trying to visualize a phantom, for in state lots the Negro, save in such southern localities where the population is greater than the white and even in these one can only pick out certain communities to dissect, is a negative factor contributing nothing politically, historically, or economically. He only contributes sociological problems.

The above paragraph is rather rash, and perhaps I should temper it somewhat, and confine myself to the north eastern and north western states, for I am not so sure that the Negro has not made some contribution at least economically in the southern states, but neither am I so sure that this has not been swallowed up beyond the point of recognition by the whites who most certainly hold the power. And now I find justification for having such a series of articles even if they are rather far-fetched, for Negroes need to be told of past achievements and present strivings. They need this trite reminder to stir them, and to urge them on to greater achievements. They must develop a race pride, and so they must be

told of what they and their foreparents have achieved. I am sorry then that I have to write of the Utah Negro, for there has been and is certainly nothing about him to inspire anyone to do anything save perhaps drink gin with gusto, and develop new technique for the contravention of virginity.

There is little difference between the few Negroes in Utah and their middle class white brethren. The only difference is one of color, and those Aframericans who have been in the state longest have done everything in their power to abolish even this difference. Miscegenation was the common thing for years, and until a state law was passed prohibiting intermarriage the clerks at the county court house were kept busy signing up fair ladies with dusky men. Then when the prohibitive law was passed the roads to Wyoming and Montana were crowded until those commonwealths also passed anti-miscegenation laws. What is more it reached such proportions that even as late as 1915 there was in Salt Lake a club catering only to Negro men and white women, and, when I was last there, which was a year ago, there were three super-bawdy houses that I knew of, where white ladies of joy with itching palms cavorted for the pleasure of black men only.

This situation was of course not peculiar to Utah alone. It was also true of most western states, and the "Manassa" group of the middle-west was far more notorious than any like group Utah has produced. However, this happened only because the population of Utah was considerable less than that of some of her sister states. Statistics will readily prove, I believe, that comparatively speaking the intermixing of races was as great or greater in Utah than in any other western state.

But to get to another point—There were two Negroes in the first overland Mormon train, a man and his wife, (he had only one, for Mormons did not believe that a Negro could ever enter into Heaven as an angel, and that since because of Ham's sin he was to be deprived of full privileges in Heaven, he was not entitled to enjoy the full privileges of a good Mormon on earth), who were servitors to Brigham Young. A little later other vagabond souls, eager to escape the terrors of both the pre and post civil war south, drifted in and remained if they found employment. Then still others were caught in the contemporary westward drift of American population, and entered into the "Bee" state as gamblers, gold-seekers, prostitutes, and home servants. And later, during the ascendancy of the Gentile regime there was quite an influx of Pullman car porters, dining car men, hotel waiters plus more pimps and prostitutes. This population was for the most part transient, but a few of them accidently during drunken moments or temporary physical ecstasy settled there and commenced the raising of families, which families are now members of the Utah Negroes' *haute monde*.

Until the war had inspired the northern migration of southern colored people there were few of what is known as respectable Negroes in the whole state. These strived hard to cling together, and they generally did except upon the matter of religion, which I might boldly add herein, has done more to keep the American Negro at variance with himself than any other agency. Some folk were Methodists, some were Baptists. Then some Methodists would turn Baptists, and some Baptists would turn Methodists. Moreover some Methodists and some Baptists, would grow discontented and there would be rumors of a split, and most times these rumors would develop into actualities. At the present time there are three Negro churches in Salt Lake City, which has a population of about 1,800 colored people. Only about 500 of these are of the church going variety, and imagine their strength divided as they are between two Baptist and one Methodist Churches.

Salt Lake City and Ogden have the largest Negro communities, and of these two Salt Lake has the greater population, but one would never believe this after walking thru the streets of the two cities, for one can walk for hours in Salt Lake without meeting a colored person, while in Ogden one will meet any number in the downtown district. This is due to the fact that the Negro population of Salt Lake has not become centralized, and there is no Negro ghetto, while in Ogden almost the entire Negro population is centered around the railroad yards and depot, because almost the entire Negro population of Ogden is engaged in fleecing the transient railroad porters and dining car waiters out of as much money as possible while these men are in the town. The only other place in Utah where there is an appreciable colored settlement is at Sunnyside, in the southern part of the state, where some two or three hundred men are employed in the coke ovens.

In the glorious state of Utah there are no representative Negro institutions of note save the deluxe gambling clubs and whore houses in Salt Lake and Ogden. The churches are pitiful and impotent. There are no Negro professional men. There are no Negro publications not even a church bulletin. There are no Negro business houses. There are no Negro stores. There are no Negro policemen, no Negro firemen, no Negro politicians, save some petty bondsmen. There are a few Negro mail carriers, and the only Negro mail clerk in the state passes for Spanish or something else that he isn't in order to keep his position and not be forced to become a pack laden carrier. Most of the Negroes in the state are employed on the railroad as porters and dining car waiters, or else in the local railroad shops, or else earn their livelihood as janitors, hotel waiters, and red caps, thereby enabling themselves to buy property and become representative bourgeoisie.

Negroes are rigorously segregated in theaters, public amusement parks, soda fountains, and eating places. This too seems to be a result of the post world war migration of southern Negroes to the north which was accompanied by a post world war wave of Kluxism and bigotry. The earlier Negro settlers experienced little of these things. They were welcome in any of the public places, but as the Negro population grew, and as the Gentile population grew so did prejudice and racial discrimination until now the only thing that distinguishes Utah from Georgia is that it does not have jim-crow cars. Last year there was even a lynching—the second in the history of the state.

Add to this the general dullness and assininity of the place and the people, and you will understand why a writer (who was also born in Utah) in a recent issue of the *American Mercury* declared that there was not an artist in the entire state, and that if one was to stay there he would soon be liable to incarceration in the insane asylum at Provo, or else buried in one of the numerous Latter Day Saint cemeteries. I was there for a short time last summer, and sought to buy my regular quota of reading matter. I asked for a *New Republic* at every down town newsstand in Salt Lake City, and out of ten stands only one had ever heard of it. I made equally vain searches for *The Nation, The Living Age, The Bookman, The Mercury,* and *The Saturday Review of Literature*. At the only stand that had ever heard of these publications the proprietor advised me to pay him in advance and he would order them for me as he did for a few other of his customers who were crazy enough to read such junk. He capped it all by enquiring whether or not I was a Bolshevist.

Thus is Utah burdened with dull and unprogressive Mormons, with more dull and speciously progressive Gentiles, with still more dull and not even speciously progressive Negroes. Everyone in the state seems to be more or less of a vegetable, self satisfied and complacent. Yet I suppose that Utah is no worse than some of its nearby neighboring states, which being the case the fates were not so unkind after all—I might have been born in Texas, or Georgia, or Tennessee, or Nevada, or Idaho.

WHAT ARE WE, NEGROES OR AMERICANS?

By J. A. ROGERS

(In the June issue of THE MESSENGER, *W. A. Domingo, discussed the subject, "What Are We, Negroes or Colored People?" J. A. Rogers, author of "From Superman to Man," and other works is following up Mr. Domingo's able discussion with this article*—EDITOR.)

ORIGIN

Just what is a Negro? Where and how did the term originate? Is it a term of honor or reproach? These are some of the phases it is necessary to discuss.

The modern use of the term, Negro, dates back to 1442, when Anton Gonsalves, lieutenant of Prince Henry the Navigator, on a trip to the coast of Guinea brought back six captive natives from that region to Spain, a step which resulted in the African slave trade.

These natives were black in color, or *negro*, in the Spanish or Portuguese languages. *Los negros* (the blacks); *los blancos* (the whites). From Spain these *negros* were taken to Cuba as slaves, and later to English-speaking America, where the word, *negro*, was used, later to replace "blackamoor" and "Ethiopian," the former English words for black men.

The whole history of the word, Negro, except for the last sixty-one years is then associated with slavery. In other words, with things, with chattels, having no rights that "the white man was bound to respect." It is important to remember this.

SCIENTIFIC USE

Later, the word with a capital "N" was to find its way into scientific language, and acquire, perhaps, a slight measure of dignity. Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840), first of the great anthropologists, and perhaps, even at this late day, the greatest of them all, in founding the study of Man, as a science, divided the human race into five varieties, one of which he called, Negro. Blumenbach, it is important to note, was very careful to point out that his division was a purely arbitrary one, that there was, in reality, hundreds of varieties, which blended one into the other by "insensible and inperceptible" degrees; and, that when the last word had been said on the subject that there was but one race—*the human race*. Blumenbach did his work with the thoroughness of the German scientist, as those who will read his "Anthropological Treatise," will see.

In this book he stated in no uncertain terms his opinion that the Negro, then in the very depths of enslavement in the New World, was the biological equal of the other four varieties. And Blumenbach was in a position to know as he had a whole library filled with literary, scientific, and philosophical treatises by European Negroes, many of whom had been graduated with honors from the leading universities. The European Negro has throughout received better treatment then the African or the one in the New World. Negro slavery was abolished in Europe finally in 1773, Portugal being the last place to have Negro slaves.

Compare the thoroughness, the painstaking work, and the knowledge of the Negro as well as that of the other varieties, by this great master with that of the long line of quacks that have followed him as Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, Putnam Weale, Earnest Sevier Cox, R. W. Shufeldt, Henry Fairfield Osborne, and a score of others. Verily a descent from Olympus to a mud puddle!

In Blumenbach's own words:

"Finally I am of opinion that after all these numerous instances I have brought together of Negroes of capacity, it would not be difficult to mention entire well-known provinces of Europe, from out of which you would not easily expect to obtain off hand such good authors, poets, philosophers, and correspondents of the Paris Academy; and on the other hand there is no so-called savage nation known under the sun which has so distinguished itself by such examples of perfectibility and original capacity for scientific culture, and thereby attaching itself so closely to the most civilized nations on earth, as the Negro."

PRESENT STATUS

To limit now the discussion to the United States. After the black man had been a slave for two hundred and forty-four years, during which his color and physiognomy had been so changed that within his ranks almost every type under the sun could be found, and every disgrace and ignominy known to the baseness of human nature had been heaped on him, not the least of which was the white man's religion and his doctrine of superiority, at bottom the same, he was set free to become five years later a full-fledged citizen of the United States, *on the books*.

There was much opposition to this, as is known, but it was nothing singular from the standpoint of ignorance and illiteracy. The bulk of the Southern whites were in the same state that the mountaineers of Tennessee and North Carolina are now. Indeed, if the word of Olmsted, author "The Slave States," and others, is to be taken, the masses of the poor whites were below the free Negroes and the slave domestics. The only asset of these poor whites was the empty honor of possessing the same color, as the top dog. Hence, if these whites could be citizens, anyone else, in common justice, could be.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Citizenship and suffrage, as it ought to be well-known, were conferred by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Since it is certain that comparatively few Negroes have read them, it is well to quote them here:

Art. XIV says in part: *"All persons, born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the States wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."*

Art. XV. *"The right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of color, race, or previous condition of servitude."*

WHEN IS A NEGRO A NEGRO?

As the term, Negro, stands today it is fully as undefinable as electricity. A white-skinned person who is legally a white man in North Carolina can be legally a Negro in the adjoining state of Virginia; one legally white in Virginia will be classed as black in Oklahoma; the same person legally white in Oregon will be legally black in North Carolina; the whole definition for America being as uncertain and crotchety as an old maid. Each state acts according to its prejudices, or clearer yet, the exploitable possibilities of the "Negro."

Many contend that the term, Negro, is one of opprobium. There can be no doubt that it is. It was founded on slavery and forced degradation. Further, in many of the Southern States, as in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia and those states, in which

the population is so mixed that the imputation is likely to be true it is as libellous to call one, supposedly white, a Negro, as to call him a horse-thief, pimp, or crap-shooter. Some years ago a newspaper in South Carolina, in reporting a story, accidentally called a supposedly white man, colored. The judge in awarding him damages uttered this remarkable bit of legal wisdom: " . . . . if one race be inferior to the other socially the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane." In North Carolina a man recently brought suit when called Negro.

At the mere mention of the word, Negro, particularly in white newspapers, fully ninety percent of the population of the United States, regardless of color, experience a feeling of repulsion, except in certain instances, such as when it comes to telling what the "Negro" has done for the country. Hence the just contention of those who insist the term is a debasing one. As to the word, nigger, there is really no difference, except that custom has made it so. Apart from the fact that the majority of "Negroes" refer to themselves as "niggers," that word, is only the slip-shod pronunciation, as "sah," for "sir." It is certain that the perverters of the word had no added insult in mind.

The objectors to the word, Negro, as was said, are right, but when they suggest some other word as "colored," Ethiopian, Ethican, Afro-American, Race-man, they but constitute themselves killers of time, and diverters from the main issue, the getting of one's rights. For it is not the name but the treatment that hurts. Anglo-Saxon, Christian, Yankee, Irish, and a host of other names were once terms of reproach. When the social, that is, the economic standing of the possessors of those names had improved, the terms also acquired dignity. With loss of economic standing names also lose their standing as Greek, Spaniard, Turk, Italian. Call the black man white, and the white man black; reverse the terms, Negro, and, Caucasian, and with treatment unchanged it will make no difference.

And the worst part of it is that the proscribed is bound to use, some time or another, the opprobious name, given by the oppressor. For instance, in the South the "Negro" is forced by law into separate places labelled for him. In describing himself in legal documents in every state in the Union, and even in the departments conducted by the United States Government itself he is compelled to describe himself as "Negro" or "colored," as in marriage licenses, criminal proceedings, naturalization proceedings, Federal positions, census reports. Although the Constitution of the Federal Government, itself, declares that he is a citizen, yet the government goes to the length of denying this by writing him down as "Colored" or "Negro" in the census reports. It is noteworthy, in this respect that it is only those incapable of becoming citizens, who are thus enumerated separately, as Indians, Chinese, Japanese. Those of other nationalities as, Italians, Jews, Greeks, Germans, provided they are native-born are never mentioned as such. If not born here they are all classified as foreign-born whites. In short, though the Federal government calls the so-called Negro, a citizen, it classifies him as an alien, or rather something betwixt and between, that something, as I will later show being still a slave, to a certain degree of the white man.

Because this is so the Supreme Court of the United States, final voice of the Federal government, always with an eye to the preservation of property rights has been notorious in its decisions as to what is justice for the black man—an old story dating from the Dred Scott decision to the present segregation affair in Washington, D. C.

Although forbidden by the Constitution to make or enforce any bill, based on color, these injunctions, to every state south of the Mason-Dixon line and some north of it are but so many scraps of paper. "Negroes" are forced to pay the same taxes, the same railroad fare, poll-tax, bound to the same contracts, in short the same civic obligations as the white man. But when it comes to getting returns for his harder-earned dollar he gets less, anywhere from seventy-five to twenty cents, and in the matter of education sometimes as low as five cents to the dollar.

On a recent trip to the South I rode from Wilmington, N. C., to Richmond on an old wooden jim-crow car placed between a modern steel baggage car, and steel coach for the whites. In a collision the colored coach, if one can dignify it by that name, would have been crushed to tinder. Further, the conductor, the railroad employes, and the news "butcher" pre-empted eight places while passengers stood. The toilet room of the colored women happened to be nearest the baggage car, so the employes on that car, used it. Further the colored car is always placed ahead, so that in case of a head-on collision, the "Negroes" will get killed first. This by the way, is about the only instance in the South where the black man goes first, in jim-crow street cars he rides in the rear. Yet there is an impartial fare for both. This, of course, is only a very minor incident. This article is pianissimo.

In all of these jim-crow states a Negro may ride in the white coach provided he is in the employ of some white person or is a prisoner. Hence, if all Negroes travelled as servants or as convicts, there would be no jim-crow cars.

Sufficient has been said in answer to the query at the head of this article to prove that in actuality, and regardless of what the Constitution may say we are not Americans, but "Negroes" or "colored" as the census reports define us. By and large we have not even the rights of the alien, even those aliens incapable of becoming citizens. With my own ears I heard the terrific fight put up, by ministers of the gospel in the Virginia senate last February to keep Chinese, Japanese and other Asiatics from being jim-crowed in conveyances and public places, and they won. A so-called race integrity bill which passed the house ingeniously declared that the bill would not affect those persons "who by the Constitution of the United States are *incligible* to become citizens of the United States," meaning Asiatics. Think of that! Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans ride where they please in the South.

Then there is the Indian, a ward of the nation, and living on the reservation. He pays no taxes but when he comes among the whites, with the saloons now illegal, he may go where he pleases. No segregation for him. The same holds true of any European who touches these shores. There is no segregation for a German, though he made a thousand American widows in the last war. There is segregation for the "Negro" veteran, though he saved a thousand from becoming widows, unless he is travelling as valet for the German.

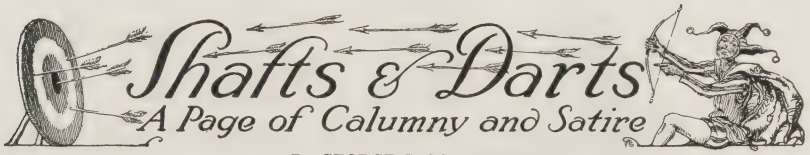
The sole purpose of segregation is to preserve the status of slave and master—to so arrange it that the "Negro" will have a back-door entrance to everything.

Nor, as was said, is the Federal Government any stricter in the enforcement of the law than the states. Washington, D. C., is under the direct rule of the President and Congress, yet but for the jim-crow car one might well be in Mississippi.

But after all the Negro has been taught on the subject of citizenship, the above will sound incredible. Am I at no time a citizen, he will ask. Yes, there are times when he is not only a citizen, but he is compelled to be, and this holds true of the most barbarous of the Cracker states as of the Northern ones. When it comes to paying taxes, to service in the draft, to defense of the country as in case of foreign invasion, in short in all those things that make for the white man's benefit, he is a one hundred percent citizen. In those that makes for his own benefit, he is only a Negro. In things that make for the white man's benefit the United States is to the Negro, a nation; in things that make for his own benefit, it is a race or tribe, and he an alien in it.

In the awarding of citizenship he has received most of the bitter and little of the sweet, which makes one

(*Continued on page 255*)



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Wail of the Philanthropists

Up in frozen mountains,
Down in tropic fen;
Where'er we go a-trav'ling,
We're trailed by Negro men:
Immaculate and suave; brown, black and yaller,
Rattling their tin cups; screaming for a dollar.

Reflections of a Coward

1. It is better to take to your heels than to be taken by the heels.
2. It may be wonderful to meet death bravely, but it is better to be a live coward than a dead hero.
3. After all is said, it is apparent that cowards are notoriously long-lived.
4. Most men are brave in order to impress cowards.
5. The coward is usually an intelligent man; he values his life above vague ideals and the lives of others.
6. What profiteth a man if he gain the Carnegie Hero Medal and enrich the mortician?
7. Why should a man fight over a woman?—there are so many of them!
8. One of the chief objects of military training is to teach a man how to avoid death on the battlefield.
9. Intense bravery and intellectual brilliance seldom go together.
10. Cowardice is the foundation of civilization. Who ever heard of a nation of brave and fearless souls?
11. The average American male grows exceedingly offended when accused of cowardice, but it will be recalled that Bryan's philosophy on the eve of the Great War that a million men would rush to arms between dawn and darkness was all boloney. The arms they rushed into were the same ones that men usually rush into between darkness and dawn.
12. It is easy for a coward to be a Christian. He never intervenes to rescue drowning chiropractors or jazz singers, reasoning, doubtless, that it is God's will. Then, too, the Good Book says "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity," and the coward does not wish to be thought vain.
13. In wartime the coward does not fall for the old stuff about defending his wife and children from the enemy (he has often wished the enemy had them). But rather than go to jail for avoiding service, he joins the Quartermaster Corps, the Ordnance Department or the Military Intelligence Corps: gets a job in one of the numerous Washington Bureaus or seeks employment in a munitions plant. Or, if the conflict is restricted to land warfare, he joins the navy, and vice versa.
14. Discretion is the better part of valor. The man who neglects to rescue his drowning mother-in-law may have an ulterior motive.

Ballad of Negro Artists

I.

Now old Merlin the wizard had nothing on us,
Though he conjured a castle up out of the dust;
For with nothing but gall and a stoutness of heart,
On the public we've foisted this New Negro Art.

Chorus:

Oh! this New Negro Art;
This "peculiar" art;
On the gullible public
We've foisted our "Art."

II.

If old Kinkle and "Rusty" of mendicant fame,
Grabbed off wads of cash in the panhandle game;
Cannot we alleged writers and singers and such,
Playing on "racial differences," cash in as much?

Chorus:

We *can* cash in as much—
Very *nearly* as much;
Though we know we're all hams,
We can cash in as much.

III.

By stupendous logrolling and licking of boots,
And fawning around influential galoots;
We have gotten a place 'neath the calcium flare,
And are paying our room rent and eating good fare.

Chorus:

Oh, we're eating good fare;
Eating mighty good fare;
Though once we went hungry,
We now eat good fare.

IV.

Our pet "racial differences" theory can
Be indorsed, it is true, by the Knights of the Klan;
But we care not for trifling matters like that,
When as "racial interpreters" we can grow fat.

Chorus:

Yes, we can grow fat;
Get flabby and fat;
Eating three squares a day—
And all paid for at that!

Aframerican Professional Attributes

The Clergyman

Sanctified air, sonorous voice, urge to promiscuity, inordinate appetite, reversed collar. Symbol: A dollar sign.

The Social Worker

Immaculate attire, aversion to useful labor, horn-rimmed spectacles, a jumble of meaningless statistics, fag ends of ill digested sociology, beaming countenance. Symbol: A large tin cup.

The College Professor

Baggy trousers, frayed sleeves, the ubiquitous horn-rimmed spectacles and a frightened look. Symbol: A shackle.

The Physician

A smug air of omniscience, evidence of opulence, finality in speech. Symbol: A skull and cross bones.

The Journalist

Shiny trousers, soiled collar, an understandable nervousness from dodging creditors. Symbol: A weather vane.

The Undertaker

Oiliness, corpulency, affability, prosperity, a large supply of facial expressions correspond with the emotions of clients. Symbol: A Tombstone.

The Curse of My Aching Heart

By CARL VON VICKTON

A very touching love lyric dedicated to The New Negro Artists

I've made you what you are today,
Yet I'm dissatisfied.
I boosted you until 'twas said,
No one so glibly lied.
Now book men print your puerile trash;
Your jongleurs dine a la carte.
Though your vogue's nearly through,
To think I boosted you—
That the curse of my aching heart.

The Outlaw Lexicographer

More definitions emanating from the alleged brain of the writer, who has somehow or other escaped incarceration in Central Islip.

Newspaper, n.

1. A sheaf of advertisements embroidered with rumor, decorated with fiction, smothered in sensationalism and occasionally seasoned with fact.

Hermit, n.

1. A wise fellow who lives by himself in order to have the least number of fools to contend with.

The September issue will be a special one in commemoration of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' first birthday.

Edito

Opinion of the leading

President Borno of Haiti

Impartial writers and social investigators of current history are pretty generally agreed that Borno is an usurper, the tool of sinister American financial imperialists, held in office by southern marines who believe in the doctrine that a *"Negro should stay in his place."* Despite the ruthless and brutal murdering of several thousand innocent Haitians by these Negro-phobists, under the pretense of maintaining order, the military occupation has been whitewashed by white and black apologists, who gloriously lick the boots of Big Business.

Happily, however, in the soul of the common people there is a spark of rebellion against oppression and injustice. Hence, upon the departure of Mr. Borno from Haiti, the people booed him; and upon his arrival in the United States, the Haitians, seeking freedom for their fatherland, demonstrated against him. These outcries for social justice indicate the trend of the spirit of the people. They want Haiti to exist for, of and by the Haitians. Under Borno, it exists only for, of and by the United States' bankers. The sweat and blood of the Haitian workers are being coined into dollars and dividends to satisfy the cupidity, greed and avarice of international thieves and robbers. Their land and rich resources are being gobbled up, and Haitians are shot to pieces and told to praise God for the blessings of military occupation at the hands of decendants of former black slave masters; that they are fortunate to be ruled by white men, the great Nordic race; that black people are lazy and good-for-nothing, anyhow, and hence, unworthy and incapable of self-government. Not only do the marines press this nefarious philosophy of inherent inferiority on the part of black people to white people, but they have selected a time-serving Negro, President Borno, to chloroform the masses for the American financial barons to rob. To be sure, Borno is a mere puppet, a *figure-head*, who neither reigns nor rules.

Here in the field of international politics is seen operating the principle of the ruling class selecting one of the educated members of the subject class, raising him to a place of political and social eminence, in order that he may be used to mislead his own people. It is the very same principle which has been successfully employed by sagacious capitalists in the United States to the injury of the Negro here. One cunning Negro is picked out of the race and made a big Negro, in order successfully to maintain a whole lot of exploited little Negroes. It is a phase of the principle of "divide and conquer." This policy of white men, who have axes to grind, selecting and crowning, as it were, Negro leaders, is responsible for the present pitiable plight of the race. As a consequence, the masses are taught to have no faith in any Negro who is not accepted and okehed by white men.

This principle of selecting the oppressors of the oppressed, however, out of their own ranks is not alone operative among Negroes. India, Ireland, Egypt, China, have been and are being victimized by this very same subtle method of apparent benevolence. The march of labor, too, has been set back from time to time, by the employing class capturing the intelligent insurgents with bribery or jobs. Among all oppressed people, the movement for their liberation has been arrested and impoverished through the ruling class constantly draining off the militant strong men, by holding up before them, jobs, ease, luxury, social place and wealth.

Such is the case with Borno. He is an agent of reaction and tyranny in the callous hands of American financial and military dictators. And, withal, he was fawned over by certain compromising Negroes in the United States. With a high sense of race international solidarity, the American Negroes might have seized upon the visit of Borno as an opportunity to express their demand for liberty for Haiti just as the Irish did in America for Ireland.

Workers' Education

More and more the trade union movement is turning its attention to the systematic education of its members. Not only is it educating its members but it is also attempting to give the public labor's viewpoint of modern society.

In Brookwood at Katonah, The Rand School of New York, and the Boston Trade Union Labor College, the enlightened labor movement is striving to supply that social, economic, political and spiritual knowledge of society to the workers which is not to be found in the capitalist colleges and universities. They are preparing the future leaders of labor. Negro workers must avail themselves of the opportunities afforded in these institutions to serve the "new learning" so that they may be prepared to take their places in the great struggle for economic emancipation. Already two promising colored students are in Brookwood, and several attend the Rand School. There should be more.

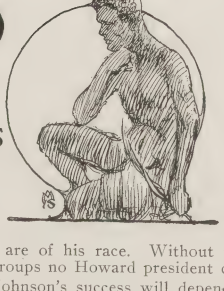
Eucharistic Congress

Perhaps, the Eucharistic Congress was the greatest religious demonstration ever held in the history of the world. It is reported to have cost $100,000,000 or more, and a million or more persons are estimated to have participated in it.

As an exceptional and unusual stroke of aesthetic advertisement a cardinal red train, Catholic from

rials

colored American thinkers



engineer to porter, was prepared, especially, to carry the Cardinals from New York to the Congress.

This religious festival had all of the splendor, grandeur and majesty of medieval Catholic occasions. It was international and interracial in composition. Reports have it that it was marked by an obvious absence of race or color discriminations of any kind. It is quite doubtful that a similar world gathering of Protestant Churches would have been so devoid of manifestations of race or color hatred. It is a notorious fact that the Ku Klux Klan is a 100 per cent. Protestant organization. Of course, it is quite possible that the Catholics are not altogether free from race prejudice, either.

The outstanding significance of the Congress, as we see it, was organization and power. It was a marvel of both of these outstanding qualities. It is, doubtless, the most powerful international organization in the world today, religious or secular. It, of course, is the oldest. Its great strength lies largely in the fact that it is not rent with schisms such as is the case with the Protestants. It has only one Head; whereas the Protestants have many.

Now what of the influence of the Congress on public sentiment in the United States as it affects the Catholics. It may create more prejudice and intolerance against them. This we should deplore. America should be the asylum for all creeds, political, economic or religious. Again, its tremendous display of power and organization may intimidate Catholic baiters. It is difficult to determine which will preponderate. Some aver that it is a plot to elect a Catholic President, and they have become furious over such a prospect. We think that the Catholics have just as much right to be eligible for election to the Presidency of the United States as Protestants or anybody else have. We also hold that the Negroes have this same right, namely, to become President of the United States. And why not? Are they not citizens? Have they not fought, bled and died for America? Are they not capable?

Mordecai W. Johnson

Bishop Gregg has refused the presidency of Howard University and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson has been chosen in his stead. We regard the selection of Dr. Johnson as being quite a fortunate one. He is a man of great force, scholarly attainments, vision and idealism. Nor is he burdened with too many years. Age is not an inconsiderable item, since his duties and responsibilities will be exacting and trying.

His problems will be many and difficult. Perhaps his race will accentuate them. At the same time, his race ought to serve him advantageously in overcoming many of his obstacles, since the student body, alumni and a large majority of the faculty are of his race. Without the support of these groups no Howard president can succeed.

Dr. Johnson's success will depend largely upon the extent to which the faculty, student body, alumni, the Negro press and various Negro agencies are united behind him. In fact, in terms of the philosophy of white America, the entire Negro race is the president of Howard University. The success or failure of Dr. Johnson will be assigned to the race as a whole. Hence, this attitude of the white public imposes a similar attitude upon the Negro public. Therefore, it is eminently to the interest of every Negro to consider that his race is on trial as the president of a great institution of learning, and that it is his task and duty to uphold the arm of the incumbent. Fortunately, he need have no reservations with his task, for the standard-bearer is a man of large and commanding spiritual and intellectual proportions.

The white world will watch this experiment with great interest; our friends, hoping that nothing will go awry; our enemies, ever waiting and expectant that the slave psychology will reassert itself, and precipitate a state of hopeless confusion because of distrust in Negro leadership. Then the Vardamans, Cole Bleases, the Ku Kluxers, generally, will gleefully exclaim, *"I told you so! 'Niggers' ain't capable of any kind of self-government."* Already Senator Borah, an alleged liberal, has lamented the emancipation of the Negro. Think of it! But we must be realistic. We cannot hope to receive the faith of white people, if black people have no faith in themselves. Much of the basis for scepticism among white people about Negroes' ability to do things of moment and significance without the guidance of white people, is supplied by Negroes themselves. We are largely judged as inferior people because we, in many instances, think and act as though our detractors were right. Let us hope that the attitude of the race toward the Negro President of Howard will indicate a new trend in our spirit, a trend toward independence and self-reliance.

The N. A. A. C. P. Conference

The Association just closed an eventful conference. Its mass meetings were huge and inspiring. The day sessions were interesting, though smaller, which, of course, was natural. It began with a brilliant and able key-note address by William Pickens on Suffrage and the Negro. Morefield Storey's address, which was read by James Weldon Johnson, on account of the inability of Mr Storey to be present, sounded the call to progressive political action, counselling Negroes, as the late

Samuel Gompers did labor, to "reward their friends and punish their enemies." On the Church, Robert W. Bagnall gave a radical and devastating address, doubtless to the dismay and discomfort of many smug, unenlightened ecclesiastics. Judge Georges talk was narrative in form; Congressman Dyers savored of advice already known. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., carried an interest more by who he was than by what he said. Bishop A. J. Carey was more avoirdupois of body than of mind. Julius Rosenwald was dry though frank. James Weldon Johnson effectively sold the Association to the vast audience Sunday afternoon. He was forceful and earnest. Clarence Darrow was, as usual, sound and witty. DuBois was pleasing. John Haynes Holmes was masterful and eloquent. Mayor Dever was apparently overwhelmed by the brilliant occasion. He was obviously lost for something to say. He had been preceded by DuBois, who was quite too intellectual for the average politician. Doubtless, too, this was a new Negro audience to Dever. Carter G. Woodson, the Spingarn Medalist, was gracious in his speech of acceptance, though greatly disadvantaged in following so fascinating an orator as Rev. Holmes. The audience was much too vast for Miss Ovington, though she was charming as chairlady. Her introductions were well done.

The resolutions were militant and comprehensive. Probably to the surprise and despair of the Pullman Company and its black cohorts, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was included in the resolutions of endorsement.

The conference was a scene of busy workers. Walter F. White, assistant secretary, and Regetta G. Randolph, office manager, of the Association, and secretary to Mr. Johnson, appeared to be the busiest of all persons in the conference. They handled the details of organization, and did it well.

At one of the sessions Miss May McDowell, head of the department of Social Welfare of Chicago, a woman of many and varied interests and sympathies, presided. She introduced the note of labor in the conference by observing upon her interest in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. During that same session the general organizer of the Brotherhood spoke.

A drive was launched to raise a million dollars to defend the rights of Negroes. This is to be an endowment fund. It ought to be raised without any great difficulty, considering the great service which the Association has given in fighting the cause of justice for the group.

At the end of the conference, after having reflected upon the many interesting papers read and talks made, one went away with the impression that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was the biggest and most effective manhood movement of the Race.

The Political Insurgency

From the trend of recent primaries, a strong political insurgent movement is rapidly getting under way. As usual, it is rising out of the agrarian areas of the country. This was true of the Populist movement, which, perhaps, aside from the Roosevelt and LaFollette progressive revolts, was the most significant in American political history.

The farmers contend that if the capitalists are entitled to government subsidy, they are too. Hence, they have demanded the passage of the Haugen Bill. The spokesmen of Big Business have protested that the proposed corn-belt legislation is class legislation, that it would simply serve to put the Government in business, that it would cause the American consumer to pay higher prices for home-grown food stuffs than the foreigner pays. To which the long-suffering farmer justly replies that the tariff does that very same thing, also. It has put the Government in business; it is class legislation and it has compelled the American consumer to pay more for American made goods than the foreigner pays. This argument is irrefutable. The Payne-Aldrich and the Fordney-McCumber tariff legislation has greatly favored the business interests.

Recognizing the force of this argument, the Administration attempts to stem the rising tide of agrarian revolt by enacting legislation granting the farmers $275,000, cooperative bureau instead of the $375,000,000 revolving fund, but to no avail. The farmers have countered with a defeat of the Fess Farm Bill, an administration measure, to the utter dismay of the Old Guard Republicans.

Moreover, the renomination of Senators Brookhart and Nye, of Iowa and North Dakota, respectively, are high lights in the struggle of the farmers against the Wall street money ring.

If the defeat of administration senators in recent primaries is any sure indication of the political trend, Mr. Coolidge does not face the happiest and most rosy political future, for his men have not only been routed in the agricultural section, but in Pennsylvania and Illinois as well. Evidently the country is becoming restive under a static and contented political conservatism as is represented in the Coolidge regime.

If the Democrats, who, by the way, are no better than the Republicans, are in the least adroit, they have the opportunity of stampeding the Republicans on their failure to enact any constructive farm legislation in the last congress. They have the opportunity also of capitalizing the flagrant corruption in the Pennsylvania and Illinois primaries to the disadvantage of their Republican colleagues. The issue of Prohibition, too, may serve the Democrats well, since they are now the party of opposition and criticism and not because they have any more constructive program or sense of decency than the Republicans have. Of these three issues, the farmers' question is the most fundamental.

The vital lesson to the Negro and the white workers which these issues portray is that political action is primarily a reflex of economic interests. When the Negro learns that the Republican and Democratic parties serve the same interests, probably of varying sizes, and that these interests are fundamentally economic, he will be prepared to use his vote intelligently and not till then. The farmers and manufacturers want the Government to subsidize them in order that they might be able to raise the price level of the commodities they sell. So the workers ought to employ political action to protect and advance their interests, namely: the raising of the price level of the commodity which they sell, which is their labor power. Whither will this insurgency lead? It is too early yet to predict, but it is steadily growing apace.

Reed Routs Heflin

It is interesting to note that, despite the existence of an outrageous "rotten borough" political system in the South, southern senators are leading the

fight to uncover corruption in the recent Pennsylvania primaries. And while it is normally utterly impossible to galvanize the respectable Republican politicians, who conveniently pose as the friends of Negroes, into any constructive action or criticism on the South's political brigandage, thievery and degradation, in the interest of the Negro—the sharp taunts of Heflin, senator from Alabama, on the disgraceful political orgy in the Quaker State, indicating that it signalized the tottering of the Republic, drove Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, to snap back, *"Will the Senator from Alabama explain why out of more than* 1,000,000 *persons more than* 21 *years old in his state only* 100,000 *were permitted to vote in the election which returned him?"* This, of course, was a scorching humdinger. Yet Brother Heflin winced and rallied with this vulnerable inanity, "The constitution of Alabama, which has been upheld by the Supreme Court, contains a *grandfather* clause, an *education* clause, and a *good character* clause to qualify voters." Wherewith, the wily Senator from Pennsylvania licked his chops, and shot back in withering sarcasm, *"Does the Senator confess,* therefore, that less than one-tenth of the people of his state are *educated* and of *good character* and have *grandfathers?"* Whereat, according to a news dispatch the galleries exploded with laughter, and Heflin, nettled, declined to yield longer to his Pennsylvania baiter.

Verily, "it's an ill wind that blows no good." The assaults of southern senators on the political scandals of their northern political colleagues may yet serve as a devastating boomerang to the delight and profit of black Americans. Since the Bourbon southern politicians are busy trying to pick the beam of political corruption out of the eyes of the northern crowd—in self defense, the northern senators may be forced to inform the southern senatorial fraternity of the existence of motes of political corruption in its own eyes. This sort of colloquy is extremely embarrassing to both groups. Neither can successfully combat the attacks of the other, because each is telling the truth about the other. Both are hypocritical. Neither is concerned about the well-being of the people. Southern senators can, with poor grace, point an accusing finger at rotten politics in the North, however flagrant it may be. And the North has long since resigned itself to the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South through the rotten borough system. Apparently, a sort of a gentleman's agreement of silence on the political fate of the Negro by his so-called Republican friend and Democratic enemy! So it is, indeed, refreshing to note that this silence has been broken, even though it was occasioned despite no desire to aid the black citizens. It simply shows that nothing will ever be done by the North for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments until it is apparent that some definite benefit will flow to the North or the big capitalists as a result of such enforcement. It will never be enforced merely for the benefit of the black man. Self interest is the sole factor to be reckoned with in politics, as it is in most other human endeavors. It is the one factor, however, usually concealed under a mass of verbiage and platitudes, adroitly practicing deception upon the black and white workers. Let us hope that Heflin and Reed will fight on until both are politically impotent. Then it may become possible for some intelligent political action to be employed in the interest of a fair suffrage for all citizens, regardless of race, color, creed or nationality.

The Month

The most spectacular, sensational as well as significant situation on the international horizon is perhaps the desperate struggle of the French to save the franc. Its furious and erratic declension has resulted in the fall of ministry after ministry. Happily the fall of a ministry on the Continent is not as threatening to government policies as the fall of a ministry in England; the reason being, the party systems are different. The talk of a new disarmament conference has well nigh lost its interest, doubtless, because disarmament conferences don't disarm. At least, the Germans don't think so, unless it is they, the Germans, who are disarmed. Mussolini still works diligently to fall heir to the toga of the Cæsars, while the Germans voted fifteen millions to a half for the confiscation of the property of the Hohenzollerns, but without success, because the majority of the voting population failed to register its judgment on the issue. Poland is still in confusion under the sinister shadows of Pilsudski, the dictator.

Under constant and overwhelming bombarding, the French with a plethora of modern munitions, have subdued the Riffs and forced Abd-el-Krim to sue for peace. The coal strike in England still continues with the characteristic English stolidity, while Soviet Russia's international trade steadily increases, even in the United States, without political recognition. Stirrings of the natives in South Africa against a ruthless white man's dominion is becoming more and more audible, insistent and threatening. President Borno, the tool of American financial imperialists, is wined and dined by American bankers to whom he has pawned his country and people.

In America, too, current social, political and economic signs are significant. The Eucharistic Congress is the most outstanding event of the month, startling all the world with its sheer magnitude. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held an epical meet. The farmers have failed to get relief at the hands of the Coolidge dynasty, while the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois stink to high heavens with nameless corruption; meanwhile, the administration's senatorial candidates in the primaries are mercilessly beaten, as the agrarian tide of revolt continues to rise. The indomitable Passaic strikers continue to hold out for a living wage, as the motormen and switchmen of the Interborough Transit System of New York strike who refuse to be bamboozled by the subway magnates now attempting to fool the public and the workers with a company union. And to the delight of all lovers of liberty, Sacco and Vanzetti, persecuted and hunted by the minions of hatred and intolerance, still have hope of freedom as a result of the discovery of new evidence.

Karma

Captive am I to chains that bind my willing heart,
Nor seek release, tho well I know
Within this avenue of dreams grim sorrow waits,
And that some day, beneath its shade,
I shall be led—to Calvary!

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON.

THE TRUTH NEGLECTED IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

By ASHLEY L. TOTTEN

Among the ten thousand (more or less) Virgin Islanders to be found around Harlem, New York, there is a belief that American Negroes hold a dislike for them in consequence of which they never discuss any of their grievances with strangers.

But I find that they are in error. The intelligent American Negro admires the intelligent Virgin Islander, and is willing to take an active part in the struggle to bring prosperity to those islands.

It is the duty of Virgin Islanders to realize and appreciate the fact that the twelve million Negroes on the mainland represent a great political and economic power despite the fact that they are disfranchised in some States.

Instead of placing the American Negro at such a terrible underestimate as some Virgin Islanders are doing, it would be better to remove the chip of conceitedness and solicit their aid.

No one will attempt to deny that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a powerful organization.

The various fraternities and sororities cannot be overlooked.

If this serves as a bit of advice to Virgin Islanders, then let me add the various ministerial alliances all over this country who have not heard the message of the Virgin Island people and who know nothing of their aims and aspirations.

In other words the representatives of the Virgin Island cause owe a bit of courtesy to these agencies who are concerned about humanity, and whose endorsement will help to mould public opinion, which is more effective than all the red tape employed to gain a hearing at Washington.

Since the transfer of the islands there have been resolutions introduced in Congress and all kinds of investigations made, but the fact still remains that nothing will ever be done until public opinion gets busy to press the issue before the powers that be.

In the preceding article it was shown that the exodus started from the Virgin Islands before they became a part of the United States, and has since increased so rapidly that the remaining inhabitants are not Virgin Islanders at all.

The Tortolians at St. Thomas and Barbadians at St. Croix are decidedly loyal subjects of Great Britain, demanding equal political rights as native born Virgin Islanders which privilege they did not enjoy when they lived in their native homes.

The Virgin Islanders argue that they are entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges of every American citizen, and that it is the duty of the American Negro to aid them in their fight to realize these rights.

In other words they want the right of franchise, so that all foreigners regardless of their station in life be made to declare themselves citizens of the United States before they shall enjoy equal privileges with the native born.

Virgin Islanders should realize and appreciate the value of citizenship and the right to clamor for native born representation because they never enjoyed it before.

During the Danish regime the Legislature of St. Thomas and St. Jan, both classified into one municipality was made up largely of foreigners. The municipality of St. Croix had but two native Negro representatives and an American white man filled the dual position as chairman of the Danish Colonial Legislature and Vice-Consul General of the United States.

Local newspaper editors and labor leaders charge the American Government with suppressing their publications, and usurping their right to free speech under the law.

In some instances police officers were found to overstep their authority, while on the other hand it was lack of diplomacy on the part of the leaders themselves.

While it is true that a person may stand on the street corner and sharply criticise the Government of the United States, extreme care must be taken how to attack the President or any of the United States officials.

In an island like St. Thomas where there are so many of the aristocrat and bourgeoisie type who are not concerned about the proletariat, it is no easy task for a radical to get a hearing and make converts.

In St. Croix the masses of Barbadian field laborers are exceedingly clannish, but too super-sensitive.

They will recognize leadership. It makes no difference whether such leadership is good or bad.

Though the islands have afforded them a free hospital where they find real happiness and comfort, they expect to dabble in its politics and still remain British subjects.

They set out to run the affairs of St. Croix, and were ably directed by a leader who despised any person of lighter hue than himself.

Instead of trying to educate his followers into a sense of race solidarity and race consciousness it is said that he started out with a reign of abuse attacking whites and mulattoes as a means of reprisals for their long drawn out caste distinction.

He made a sorry mess of his attempt to preach social equality, for the field laborers interpreted it to mean that they should refrain from the use of the term "yes, sir" and "no, sir" and paid absolutely no respect to persons of culture in authority.

This sudden change made many friends of labor to turn against them, for the poor misled creatures were too ignorant to see how much harm they were bringing to themselves.

They attempted to molest respectable persons with insulting remarks when they were seen on the streets, in consequence of which some of the landowners and capitalists began to look at St. Croix as a place of torment and left the island.

At Bethlehem, St. Croix, there is a Danish syndicate known as the Bethlehem Concern who operates and controls the largest sugar industry on the island.

Inclusive of this several thousand acres of the best soil adaptable for the cultivation of sugar cane fell in their hands before the transfer.

This syndicate it is said, desires to affect a monopoly on all lands in St. Croix and some plantation owners charge that when illegal strikes were declared on their respective plantations followed by a series of fires of incendiary origin these were brought about at the direction of the labor leader at the time, who it is alleged received a handsome tip to help in the realization of the contemplated monopoly.

Dr. Longfield Smith, manager of the Agricultural Experimental Station, testified before the Kenyon Congressional Commission to the islands that the "Bethlehem Concern" made $425 for one hogshead of sugar, but the individual planter who sent his sugarcane to their factory only received $90 per hogshead.

It was also brought out in the investigations that they gave an annual bonus of from $500 to $1,000 to their managers, overseers, and clerical forces, but only paid 60 cents per day to their laborers and no income tax to the Government.

At St. Thomas a Danish syndicate owns, controls and operates the West India Dock and Engineering Co., a

gigantic and magnificent wharf where seven large steamships may be moored at the same time.

The management at these docks as well as stevedores, shipping agents, and experts claim that ship captains refuse to call there for coal and water because prohibition is enforced in the islands.

They have quarantine, coast wise laws, and other peculiar American harbor restrictions which is applicable to all closed ports.

There is a doubt in the mind of the writer whether the natives would thrive on the coaling of steamships as a lucrative field for labor, if more ships called there. With the presence of a powerful crane on this wharf to fill the coal bunkers, the laborers are at the mercy of the dock owners who may at any time dispense with the services of the three hundred coal passers which is the number necessary to coal a ship, besides modern ships are burning oil, and it does not need much help to apply the hose through which the supply is furnished.

The aristocrats and bourgeoisie of St. Thomas are trying to hide behind a lame excuse, because of their failure to present an intelligent programme for the future welfare of the native inhabitants.

They were poor leaders when they were tolerated, but they have been tried and found wanting.

The new Negro movement started among poor ambitious young men and women who appreciate the fact that St. Thomas can no longer thrive on its harbor alone, and are prepared to prove that the land will produce enough in fruits and vegetables for export trade.

Where the soil is found not adaptable for cultivation they have suggested poultry farming, cattle and sheep raising.

Strange to say, the natives of the neighboring British Islands, Tortola, Annie Gorda, and Virgin Gorda, supply the consumer at St. Thomas with charcoal, fruit, and vegetables, while the "Cha Cha"—a class of whites of French extraction—supply them with fish.

Mr. Lockhart, a native born Negro, is the "Rockefeller" of that island. He owns almost everything there, and has a monopoly on the baking industry.

One cannot eat bread in St. Thomas unless it is bought from Lockhart's Bakery, but the man himself is absolutely indifferent to the general welfare of St. Thomas.

There are the Lugos, Creques, Paiewonskies, Levins and other leading wholesale and commission merchants too numerous to mention, to whom the average St. Thomian will doff his hat in recognition of his supposed wealth, yet, put them all together, there is not enough "love of country" or business ability to do anything constructive in order to bring prosperity to St. Thomas. In that "Paradise of Idleness" the visitor finds bankers, bookkeepers, clerks, editors, merchants, mechanics, lawyers and laborers waiting for Uncle Sam to do something for them when in reality they are not putting forth their best energy toward doing something to help themselves. The only persons who never complain are the preachers and doctors.

In my feeble way I tried to explain in public addresses when I visited the islands (1920) that the secret to their success lies in cooperative action, that is to say let all the various factions unite into one cooperative movement of which the American and Virgin Islander resident in the United States should become a part.

At St. Croix with its most fertile soil there need be no hesitancy of the rapid success of a cooperative movement instituted there.

In a recent news item appearing in the New York *Times*, mention was made of a shipment of tomatoes and eggplant from St. Croix which the consignee said was absolutely the very best quality that the New York market had ever seen. St. Croix produces fruits and vegetables that are to be found only on the choicest tables on the mainland.

There are peas, beans, okras, yams, potatoes, various species of bananas, tannias, avocado pears, pumpkins and other vegetables too numerous to mention.

It is the home of mangoes, mesples, plums, sugar custard and bell apples, kinneps, cherries, and all other tropical fruits.

Native ability may be encouraged in the manufacture of jams, jellies, and marmalades made from the guava, cashew, cocoa plum and tamarind.

They are also noted for their ability to prepare delicious pickles out of limes which they call "assha," of their mutton cucumbers and peppers.

Guava berries which have a striking resemblance to the blue berries of America and the sorrel (a native herb) is usually picked from the trees during the Autumn and by adding just a little alcohol our anti-Volstead friends would be inclined to smack their lips and ask for more.

The very first attempt to introduce Virgin Island products in New York was made by a Miss Isabel George, who started with little finance and proved conclusively that fruits and vegetables shipped to her at the time were without the least sign of decay.

Miss George is an active member of two leading Virgin Island Benevolent Organizations in New York, is connected with several other fraternities and is known as a most loyal worker among Americans and West Indians alike.

Another champion of cooperative action among Virgin Islanders is Mr. Andrew C. Pedro, who is perhaps the only person with an intelligent programme for the future welfare of the laboring classes of the islands.

A fair illustration of what the Virgin Islanders resident in New York could accomplish by cooperative action is shown by the fact that thousands of American and West Indian consumers patronize the fruit and vegetable vendors at the public market located on Eighth Avenue between 140th and 145th streets, but out of the vast amount of West Indian products on sale there, not a single shipment came from the Virgin Islands.

St. Croix has an area of eighty-four square miles. It is twenty-two miles long and six miles wide.

The soil is fertile and at one time the whole island was under cultivation even to the top of the hills.

Land may be purchased for cultivation by the acre, but usually the owner sells the entire plantation inclusive of buildings stock, implements, etc., for a very reasonable price.

One hundred and fifty acres of land, thus equipped is valued at about $20,000.

A number of distinguished visitors who were attracted by the remarkable size of the watermelons grown on a plantation called "Grange" came upon a monument with the inscription:

Rachael Fawcett Lavine
1736—1768

The guide in passing requested the visitors who were all white Americans to remove their hats as a mark of respect for the Negro mother of one of America's greatest statesmen, Alexander Hamilton.

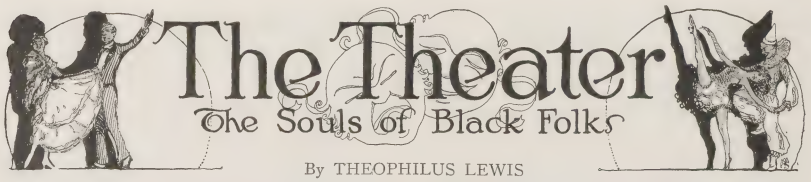
Not very far from this spot is also a monument in memory of the Danish soldiers who lost their lives during the native uprising of 1878.

St. Croix has its boosters like St. Thomas. During winter months, tourists are escorted to motor buses carrying the advertisement "INDEED IT IS ALWAYS JUNE IN ST. CROIX," and the driver is usually more concerned about extending the hospitality of the island to strangers than he is about accepting a fee for his services.

Hon. George H. Woodson, Chairman of the Federal Commission to the Virgin Islands, declared in an address before the island legislature that St. Croix had the most beautiful scenery and St. Thomas the most beautiful harbor.

The three islands said he, are blessed with the finest climate he had ever been in since he was born.

The third and last series of articles on the Virgin Islands will treat with native ability, their habits and customs and of the activities of Virgin Island organizations in New York.



By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Three Sermons by Dr. Wilson

In the issue of this journal dated October, 1923, I delivered my first lecture from this platform and the subject of the discourse was "Pa Williams' Gal," a three-act play by F. H. Wilson. With my usual modesty I point to that lecture as the first venture in dramatic criticism to appear in any Afra-american publication. What had appeared in Ethiopian prints before that time was mere boost blurb. There has been no revolutionary change, of course, and, excepting an occasional review in Opportunity, boost blurb still fills the theatrical pages of the sundown press, some of it very polished and high-falutin' and either addressed to Mr. Carl Van Vechten or written by him. Having tendered myself the usual little gift of roses, I will now pick up the theme of the present monologue.

Last night I again saw Mr. Wilson doing his stuff as actor-manager-dramatist-director of the Aldridge Players, who as guests of the Krigwa Players, presented a bill of three one-act plays in the playhouse of the latter organization. The plays were "Sugar Cain," the Opportunity prize play; "Color Worship," a kind of foetal comedy of manners, and "Flies," a wisp of patriotic sermonizing. All the plays were written by Mr. Wilson. The program was decidedly superior to the recent program of one act plays presented by the Krigwa Players themselves, both in dramatic and histrionic interest, mainly the latter. I purposely eschew judging the plays according to conventional standards of drama, because at this point in the development of the Negro little theater movement the dramatic quality of a play is less important than its theatricality. Even if a dramatist should write a first-class play at present it is doubtful if he could find competent and versatile actors to present it. It follows that one play that drills actors in the school of the theater is worth ten dramatically superior plays which do not offer actors an opportunity to perfect themselves in the tricks and technique of the stage.

Mr. Wilson's plays contained at least half a dozen parts calculated to give an actor a chance to extend himself and quite as many of the Aldridge Players took advantage of the opportunity. Charles Randolph, as the cake-eater in "Color Worship," gave a performance easy and felicious enough to pass on anybody's professional stage. Eva Gertrude Nurse in the same play. Charlie Taylor and William Jackson, in "Flies," Agnes Marsh, Mr. Wilson himself and Charlie Taylor again, in "Sugar Cain," all gave vivid and veracious interpretations of their characters. The best performance of all was Mr. Wilson's portrayal of the handkerchief head nigger in "Sugar Cain," and the scene in which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taylor, as father and son, engaged in the duologue in which the progressive spirit of youth respectfully challenges the conservatism of age—that scene was as serenely beautiful as a Barbizon landscape.

There was a tendency toward discord, however, whenever a scene called for a play of passion. Even Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taylor fell down in the closing scene of "Sugar Cain." Which means that such passionate scenes are the very ones the Aldridge Players should tackle every time they get half a chance.

The Drama in Brooklyn

Amateur theatrical performances are a pain. This can be asserted without reflecting unfavorably on any particular group of amateur players when you remember that Talma once declared that it requires twenty years for an actor to master a part completely. At least Walter Prichard Eaton says Talma said so. I didn't hear him myself.

On the evening of June 28th the Carlton "Y" Players in their performance of Adam and Eve, adapted from the original Americanese into the Ethiopian idiom, valiantly upheld the ancient and honorable tradition of excellent gauchery so long maintained by amateur performers. The train in which I made the long underland journey to Brooklyn arrived behind schedule and I had time to stop for only three drinks before proceeding with breakneck speed to the auditorium where the performance was to be given. Travel-worn and weary, I arrived at the box office at 8.51. "What time does the curtain rise?" I asked as I handed over my six bits. "It's supposed to rise at 8.30," replied the sophisticated young man in the booth. "*Supposed*," he added emphatically. I breathed easier then, for I knew I had plenty of time to go out and slake my thirst.

I proceeded to the pleasure part of the town and got three drinks, a shave and haircut, two drinks, a hot dog, a Turkish bath, four drinks, an Evening Graphic and two drinks twice. After which I returned to the auditorium and stood out in front and watched the browns arriving for the show. They have some sweet gals in Brooklyn.

The wily property man had arranged it so the amateur standing of the performance was established the minute the curtain rose, which it finally did. When Mr. King, the rubber magnate, reached for the service bell to ring for the maid the bell wasn't there. After that personable young lady had responded to an impromptu cue and began her lines, Mr. King accidentally discovered the bell concealed under a pile of books and knocked it over. Between the second and third acts it was necessary to change the set. That was the time the curtain, with the proverbial cussedness of inanimate things, got caught about six inches above the floor and refused to drop a bit lower, so that while Mr. Whosis was singing The Prisoner's Song you could see the No. 10 brogans of the masculine performers, now turned wrecking crew, clumping back and forth while blasting the old scenery loose and digging the foundation for the new set. Judging by the noise of the steam winches and riveting machines they used, constructing the set for Act III must have been some terrific job. If I hadn't known what it was all about I would have thought they were building a ten-story loft building.

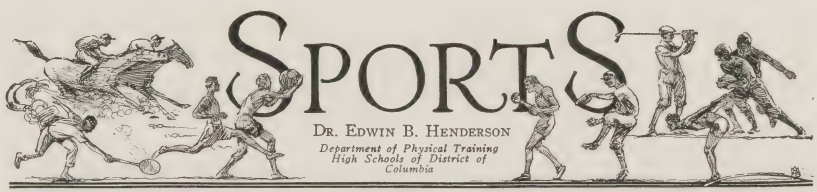
But the staging of an amateur performance doesn't mean anything. Anybody with money enough can hire expert property men and stage carpenters. The important thing to be considered is the quality of the acting and in this respect it is not necessary to make many extenuations for the Carlton Players. Three members of a cast of ten gave passable performances even under the inevitable trying conditions which bedevil all amateur productions, and three out of ten is a high average.

James Holly, Alexander Miller and Margaret Burroughs-Foster are the three I have in mind. (Isn't it refreshing to hear the good old name Margaret once more? In these days when every gal who was christened Maggie changes her name to Marguerite at the age of thirteen.) Mr. Holly forgot his cue once, but even with that he gave the most creditable performance of the evening. A fact too often forgotten nowadays is that acting is not intellectual but emotional expression, not a mere duplication of what a character thinks at a certain time but an interpretation of what a character feels. It was in this respect that Mr. Holly, Mr. Miller and Mrs. Burroughs-Foster surpassed the other members of the cast. They got as much warmth and feeling into their parts as the trashy play would permit and they sustained it. Constance Willis showed flashes of feeling too, but her performance was rather uneven. Too often she read her lines as one reads a newspaper. There was a time in the second act, just after Adam had refused to furnish money for gambling, when Miss Willis blazed up in a heat of passion that was better than any isolated bit of acting done by any other member of the cast. But she didn't keep it up. When the time came for her to fall into the arms of the man of her heart she did it like he had been eating garlic.

Pensée

I would not like to see you Dead
Because you are ugly now;
In death
You would be uglier.

J. Crutchfield Thompson.



Games and Races

By E. B. HENDERSON

Passing Van Courtland park in New York City, and noticing the games played there, one sees the sports of many nations. Dark skinned men lately from the Islands swing the bats at cricket. Sons of Gael in one corner even in this hot weather practice at getting the soccer football by the goal-tender. Here is a crowd at America's baseball, there a few boys passing at La-Crosse of Indian fame, then tennis, golf, basket ball, some on the cinder path and by the jumping pits, and a few drop-kicking the ovate pigskin in anticipation of the cool Fall days and the enormous crowds around the gridirons of the country.

Siam's Game

But of all the games played in America, none comes so near being an exhibition of perfect coordination of mind and body as the game played by Siamese, Japanese and a few other Oriental peoples. The game is played with a light rattan ball twice the size of a base-ball and difficult of control. Kicked by the feet with an occasional blow from the head and with no use of hands or arms as in soccer, the ball is not allowed to touch the ground in a certain area on penalty of loss of a point. Two or four opponents by inconceivable dexterity of movement of limb or body attempt to make the others miss. Except for rare juggling stunts no other stunt we do seems to me so remarkable as this Oriental sport.

Athletics and the Four-Hour Day

Some day most workers in America will work only four hours. What will they do with leisure time? Some will employ it in the pursuits of mind but most of the mass-herd will crave and find pleasure from use of the muscle mind. If this activity takes the form of deteriorating, demoralizing, physique-weakening aspects, then pity the race of men of this civilization and expect the end, for no civilization has yet stood past the time of weakened animal vigor.

Our increasing urbanized population must have place to play and right games to play. Play must not be confined to a specialized paid few. Some Negroes of soft personalities and sweetness of soul think our best weapons in the battle for equality of opportunities are those of art or music. They would have our songs and our art tell our story and win for us. There are those who predict a mastery of the cloistered study of the academy will do the job. Some say become a race of Jews—get and hold money. Some say politics and one group preaches to the mass, "get Jesus," forsake the world and store up riches in heaven. The health statistics and mortality lists attest to the fact that we are rapidly passing to heaven to inherit our homeland there. Let me advance the suggestion that with all the getting, get and develop health and maintain that great vigor of body that ages of toil in building America has bequeathed us. Let every agency in uplift stress sanitation, and provide a share of opportunity and incentive which afford our youth and adults the chance to do what America is doing for her favored group.

The Sesqui Games

Hail the Century Club. Following in the lines of the old clubs, the Alpha, the St. Christopher, the Smart Set and more recent ones, the Century is doing good in making it possible to place our athletic stars in competition under organization with the best of the country. Hubbard still proves there is no superior jumper. Gourdain is yet among the best. Another race athlete's record was removed by Hubbard's jump. Charley Drew of my town wins the junior hurdles. Other Colored boys proved their mettle.

Tennis

Once this game was considered a lady-like sport. No "he-men" wanted much of it. Frenchmen with their keen and quick lunge and recover, fencing characteristics, took to this form of ball batting and later the slow, plunging, stolid Englishman. Now and for thirty years past the game is popular. Big strong football players play the game at which little lithe men and women excel. Women who once wielded a wicked mallet at croquet have thrown off the hampering skirt and in tennis volley and drive with their brothers. Two million Americans play the game. The tournaments are Americanizing the heterogeneous citizenry of our own group. In every large city the devotees are planning to lift the crowns from the heads of the present champions. Ted Thompson welcomes them all.

A Socialistic Suggestion

Over in Brooklyn some official suggested a neighborhood movement to take down back fences. Make an inland court and give the kiddies a chance to play out of the death-laden streets. Of course the *My* fence and *My* yard ownership instinct will still be the big obstacle until the city government by right of eminent domain takes them over.

BOOK REVIEWS

LEFT WING UNIONISM, By David J. Saposs. International Publishers. New York, 1926.

This book is the product of one of the best informed historians in the American Labor Movement. The author has had personal contact one way or another with leaders of every phase of the movement with which this book deals. Beginning as one of the associates with Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, in gathering data for a history of the Labor Movement in the United States, the author has until the present correlated his work as instructor in labor history at Brookwood Labor College with constant research into practically every phase of contemporary labor history.

Anyone interested in the present status of labor, its opposing factions and present tendencies, its policies, ideals and tactics could do no better than read this interesting story by Prof. Saposs on "Left Wing Unionism." Following an analysis of the "conflicting ideals and programs" of the movement, Prof. Saposs traces and explains the policies and tactics of the different opposing groups among trade and unionists. The author shows that conflicting ideologies and material conditions accounted for the different policies and tactics of certain groups. Each group, as the author points out, desired to get its ideas accepted and wanted to get control of the labor movement. One of the tactics used to gain control of the movement is called boring from within. "The socialists," says the author, "made steady gains so that by the outbreak of the world war some of the largest and most influential unions supported our cause." The war, however, brought on a wave of hysteria and intolerance which opposed socialism and well-nigh ruined the movement so that the socialists lost their hold on the unions and had to change their tactics.

Following the war, the Communists and Farmer Labor Party attained prominence. William Z. Foster, a leader of the farmer group was an avowed adherent of the boring from within policy, but he could not put this into practice when he began his activities in the labor movement. As soon as the communists began their activities boring from within, they were expelled from the trade unions. This policy of ex-

pulsion increased the struggle between the communists and trade unionists for control. The communists left kept up their propaganda and began a stiff fight for the control of trade unions.

Prof. Saposs shows that various methods of boring from within were used. Propaganda, education, militancy and other means were used to gain control of labor unions. The communist party has adhered to the principle of boring from within as against that of dual unionism.

Despite all attempts to the contrary, dual unions have been formed. Prof. Saposs contends that technically many unions regarded as dual are merely separate unions. There are two kinds of dual unionism according to the author—ideologic dual unionism and opportunistic dual unionism. The first type is due to differences in ideals of various radical groups while the latter is due to different methods of work and practice. A dual union is regarded as a secessionist union when it withdraws from the A. F. of L., or some affiliated union of the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union falls in this category.

The circumstances working for dual unionism were due to immigration and the social problems connected with the presence of a large group of foreigners in industry along with Americans. The prejudice and misunderstanding that existed between foreigners and Americans in industry caused a lack of confidence in the labor movement on the part of foreigners. For this reason they did not respond readily to the overtures of the A. F. of L., but followed their own radical leaders and made up the bulk of the membership of dual unions.

Besides the circumstances stated above, other conditions formed dual unionism. As Prof. Saposs points out, the A. F. of L. never paid any attention to unskilled, semi-skilled, women and Negro workers. Quite naturally the more radical groups like the socialists, communists and anarchists turned to these neglected groups as fertile fields for their propaganda. Wherever spontaneous strikes occurred, the radicals took the lead and in some cases established dual unions.

Prof. Saposs gives in chapters 9, 10 and 11, an exhaustive survey of the success and failures of the Industrial Workers of the World. The author's analysis is the best that the writer has read of the I. W. W. activities. The organizing methods of the I. W. W. are explained, special reference being made to their work at Lawrence and Paterson.

The author explains why the I. W. W. failed to obtain stability. As the author says, the I. W. W. was chiefly a propaganda organization. It did not try to build up stable units among the workers, but merely used strikes to propagate their doctrines. In this field, Prof. Saposs claims they were preeminently successful.

Prof. Saposs closes his book with a note that has caused a stir in some circles. He believes that present conditions make dual unionism inevitable. The present policy of the A. F. of L. in neglecting the unskilled and Negroes necessitates the building up of a separate movement for these groups and Prof. Saposs thinks the communists and other radicals may do this job. At any rate, dual unions are increasing and the communists are now entering the neglected fields.

THOS. L. DABNEY.

THE STORY OF DURHAM, By William Kenneth Boyd. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C. Price $3.00.

A By-Product of Duke's Mixture

As I receive no honorarium for reviewing books for this magazine except the book itself I usually sidestep that kind of hack work unless the volume proffered happens to be one I would covet if I saw it on a neighbor's bookshelf. At first glance I thought The Story of Durham, by William Kenneth Boyd, was that kind of book. I still think so. The book is certainly one I am happy to own, but I hate like hell to have to review it.

To review a book effectively you have to know or pretend to know a good deal about the subject the author has selected for discussion. This is where The Story of Durham stumps me. I have never been to Durham and in spite of Professor Boyd's glowing description of its charms I have no overweening desire to go there. Nor have I learned much about the place from reading or hearsay. Worse, I know next to nothing about the development of the tobacco industry; and without a knowledge of the rise of the tobacco trust it is impossible to understand the growth of Durham, for the town is merely a by-product of the cigarette factories.

I once had an idea of reading up on the R. J. Reynolds people over in Winston-Salem. The Ligget-Meyers outfit, Baron Lorillard and other powers and principalities of the weed. No doubt such a survey of the expansion of the tobacco trade would throw interesting sidelights on the story of Durham, but the thing calls for too much dry reading for this humid weather. So for the time being I'll have to remain blissfully ignorant of this important phase of the renascence of the dear old Southland.

I realize there is an ethical point involved too. Since I'm too lazy to review the book I ought to pass it on to somebody else and so assure the publisher its worth in publicity. But I've got so used to having the book around I hate to give it up. Besides I have a persistent feeling I shall want to read it again. Oh, well! Duke University has plenty of money.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS.

To the Organizing Committee, Organizers, Secretaries, Treasurers, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Dear Brothers and Fellow-Workers, Greetings:

We are in the final stages of our great, intense and noble struggle for economic freedom. Signs are apparent everywhere that the enemy has weakened and ready to surrender. We scored another victory in securing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro's most powerful organization, to endorse the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Many and various attempts were made to defeat us in this purpose, but they failed.

As a result of the widespread clamor and requests from porters all over the country for a continuance of the DISPENSATION for new members and "part-paids," it has been extended for 30 more days, after which, the joining fee in justice to those who have borne the burden in the heat of the day, will be raised to $10.00. This rate will go into effect after midnight, August 5, 1926.

May I say, that in accordance with the advice of our legal adviser, Donald R. Richberg, noted labor attorney, and joint author of the Watson-Parker Bill, we have prepared a questionnaire to be sent the members in a nation-wide referendum, to determine their attitude on certain demands relating to wages, rules and working conditions. This referendum is to be completed prior to and as a basis for our taking our case up with the Mediation Board.

Permit me to request that you urge the men to make out the questionnaire and mail it to the headquarters or give them to you, as soon as possible, since we must be ready to make use of the precedents and interpretations the Mediation Board will make, so soon as one of the standard railroad unions presents a case to it.

May I say that I cannot too strongly urge upon you the necessity of working to secure as nearly a 100 per cent. organization of the porters and maids as possible. Remember that we are no stronger than the weakest link. The larger the membership the stronger our case will be with the Board.

Permit me to urge upon you also the necessity of going after the new men who are being hired by the Company. We must not permit them to remain outside of the Brotherhood. They belong with us and they will come in when they understand our cause.

We are now in the high tide of our struggle. Let us rejoice and be glad, for the God of Justice and Freedom is our captain and salvation.

And again, may I say to you that it is the verdict of history that a QUITTER NEVER WINS—and A WINNER NEVER QUITS!

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

Your faithful servant,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
General Organizer.

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANK O. LOWDEN

(Former Governor of Illinois and Big Stock Owner of the Pullman Company)

Dear Sir:

You are reported in the *New York American*, November 5, 1925, to have said, in the course of an address to a group of bankers, that "what the farmers of the country need is organization." Your remarks were included in an editorial entitled "Organization Pays."

What you say is true. And what you say of the farmers is true of all workers, including the Pullman porters, the workers of your own corporation.

But, apparently, you are not opposed to labor organization, for in that very same address you observed that "organization had done wonders for the manual workers in other fields." This, too, is correct. The trade union movement is steadily raising the standards of living of the average American worker to a decent and just level. It is bringing comfort and hope to the wage-earners. It is making life more and more worth while to those who work for a living.

"Organization," you continue, "is the order of the day in banks and business companies." This is the very same lesson which the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is earnestly trying to teach the Pullman porters in particular and the Negro race in general.

The development of business has moved forward from the individual business man to the partnership, from the partnership to the simple stock company, from the stock company to the corporation, from the corporation to the trust, and from the trust to the merger and monopolies, representing gigantic combinations of capital. In such a world, it is obvious that an organized business man is as helpless as an unorganized worker.

You further very cogently remarked, "And there is no reason why the farmers should not organize. They have organized on the Pacific Coast and that is one reason why they are so prosperous."

This same line of reasoning, Mr. Lowden, is applicable to the Pullman porters. There is, too, no reason why they should not organize. The Pullman conductors have organized. That is the reason why they receive a minimum wage of $155.00 a month instead of only $60.00 a month, the wage which they once received, while they were unorganized. Organization, too, is the reason for the fact that the engineers, firemen, switchmen and train conductors have so greatly increased their wages and improved their working conditions.

"There are two elements in successful farming, as in everything else. One is to raise sufficient and proper products, and the other is to market them. In the matter of marketing, organization is the chief factor," you wisely said.

This is also true of the worker. He must not only produce labor, but he must find employment for it, that is to say, a market, a buyer.

But, dear Sir, may I say that there is another or third element, namely, getting a proper and fair price for the commodities marketed, because one may find a market for the the goods he has produced which does not pay a price adequate to justify selling the goods. Such is the problem of the farmers. They want the Hauger legislation, giving them a government subsidy of $375,000,000, as a revolving fund, to enable them to market their surplus products at a profitable price. The difficulty then does not consist so much in producing the goods and finding a market as it does in getting a profitable price for same. Of course, organization is a condition to both finding a market and getting a fair price. But it is easier to find a market than it is to receive a just price. The reason being that there are always more persons willing to buy at their price than at the seller's price. Now the price the seller receives for his commodity will be based upon his ability and power to bargain, and his power to bargain rests upon organization.

This principle is applicable to the Pullman porters, too. The porters are engaged in the business of selling their labor to the Pullman Company. The price, or wages they receive, will depend upon their ability and power to bargain. And they can only bargain effectively or collectively when they are organized. There is no good reason to believe that the Pullman Company would adopt any different policy in relation to the porters and maids than it has adopted in relation to the conductors. It would not be sound business tactics.

In your able discussion of the value of organization, you proceed, "The citrus growers of California have paved the way in showing how great benefits arising from organization may be had by original growers of fruit and not by some manipulator."

Here, again, you have given expression to a most significant social and economic principle. Your point here is that the farmers are entitled to and need greatly, an organization of, by and for themselves. In other words, you are maintaining and justly, too, that the farmers cannot expect to profit from any organization founded by the bankers. This is logical and sound. By the very same process of reasoning, Mr. Lowden, it is proper and sensible for all workers, including the Pullman porters, to have an organization of, by and for themselves. The Employee Representation Plan will no more serve the interests and meet the needs of the Pullman porters than would an organization of jobbers, commission merchants, middle men, who merely manipulate prices and speculate in futures, or crops not yet out of the ground, benefit the farmers.

Hence, the porters, in forming the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, have done no more than you are advising the farmers to do. The porters fully realize that they have no freedom under the Employee Representation Plan to voice their grievances. The Plan does not make for a healthy morale, because it is not taken seriously. The men know that the porter-members of the local grievance committees cannot and will not speak up for a fellow porter when in trouble because of fear of themselves (the porter members) being victimized by some official of the local management, whose desire it is that the aggrieved porter does not receive a favorable consideration. Nor is it democratic in its workings, for the porter-members of the grievance committee haven't the privilege or facilities to collect evidence by consulting witnesses or by examining the persons who made the complaints, against a porter, the management has.

Besides, whether a porter under charges is right or wrong, the local management demands that its contention be sustained. In other words, however *innocent a porter may be of a charge, under the Plan, he never gets a verdict of not guilty.* He is always adjudged guilty, and if he is restored to service, it is out of mercy, not justice. The porter-members of the grievance committee realizing this, always vote that the *contention of the management be sustained* in order that the porter may be put back to work. By such conduct, the porter-members of the committee feel that they are not offending anyone, and that they are making themselves strong or agreeable with the company, on the one hand, and doing the porter a favor on the other. It is obvious that if a porter voted against the motion to sustain the management's contention, he certainly would not be in good favor with the management, since he would be opposing the desire of his local superiors.

But it must also be remembered, Mr. Lowden, that when the *contention* of the management is sustained, assuming that the aggrieved porter is innocent, he is nevertheless adjudged guilty, and it is so recorded in the minutes, *and maybe,* and is generally brought up against him, should he be again charged with violating the rules of the company. In other words, it is entered on his record card and stands against him. Herein lies the rank injustice of the whole philosophy of the company union. Besides, there is no good reason why the porters and maids should be subjected to a plan not applied to the conductors or other railroad employees. So that the porter-members of the grievance committee can only help an aggrieved porter by giving him such doubtful assistance as agreeing that he is a *criminal* in order to get him back on the job. This system is obviously demoralizing and degrading. Such a system, in the nature of things, is bound to create unrest and wide-spread dissatisfaction among the men. Grievances will never be settled constructively, both to the interest of the company and the men, until they are settled through representatives duly elected, delegated and empowered by the porters and maids, themselves, and who are fully and only responsible for the settlement of the grievances, to the porters and maids. The election of these representatives, too, must be wholly within the hands and absolute control of the porters and maids, which is not the case under your Employee Representation Plan. As a student of government, Mr. Lowden, you doubtless, realize that this method of the people choosing their own representatives is the corner-stone of modern demo-

cratic institutions, for you yourself were the beneficiary of this democratic method when you were elected as Governor of the great state of Illinois. And I have no reason to believe that you would demand the application of a democratic principle for yourself which you would deny anyone else.

Dear Sir, I have observed extensively upon this point used in your address, because it is fundamental to social and economic justice. Wherever, and whenever, the people have not the right to voice their grievances, hopes, yearnings and aspirations, there can be no genuine progress, social economic, political, religious, or what not, among workers, farmers, business men, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, natives or foreigners. Organization, in the form of labor unions and farmers' cooperatives, is the chief condition to the workers and farmers making progress. Hence, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has come into being for the very same reason.

But, Mr. Lowden, perhaps you would ask, and justly, too, "but what are you after, what is it all about?"

Well, in the first place, the porters and maids, who produce the only service the Pullman Company sells, whose record, according to the "honesty roll," and "courtesy roll," etc., of the company as is presented in the *Pullman News*, from time to time, is exemplary and praiseworthy, and has exacted the commendation and admiration of both the company and the public, *are under-paid*. Even since the increase of 8 per cent they only receive $72.90 a month, for which they are required to make 11,000 miles a month, or nearly 400 hours. This is a condition which is obviously out of harmony with modern labor standards. The conclusions of scientific social service surveys show that low-wage rates and long hours are injurious to good health and working efficiency. Efficiency experts have also demonstrated that low wages represent higher labor costs than high wages. Low-wage workers' production is to high-wage workers' production what slave labor is to free labor. The reason for this is, that an increasing sense of responsibility is developed along with increased pay. Besides, the turn-over is less, since workers instinctively are inclined to put their best foot forward in order to avoid losing their increased income. To one so conversant as you, Mr. Lowden, with American economics, I need not insist that the reason why the United States is the most prosperous country in the world is because her wage standards are higher. The logic of this situation is simply that the home market is the biggest consumer of home products, and home consumption rests directly upon home demand; which is, in turn, in direct correspondence with the income of the wage earner, the largest section of consumers of any commodity.

It is also clear, from a comparative study of the social, economic, educational conditions of peoples, that their progress is measured by their wage scales. Note the condition of China and Mexico, low-wage countries, as against Japan and America, high-wage countries. Therefore, it is undisputable that to sentence a people to low wages is to sentence them to backwardness, hopelessness and despair.

But, dear Sir, you seem to be fully aware of these economic truisms, for, in your address, you further observed that "Successful organization of and by producers does not necessarily mean high prices to consumers—often exactly the contrary." Yes, that's true. Scientific business management and responsible, efficient workers who develop with increased income, effect lower labor costs and generally lower production costs; and lower prices may follow lower production costs, thereby increasing the volume of business done and profits accruing.

As you have very well pointed out, organization from every angle is socially and economically necessary and valuable to the farmers and wage earners. As an example of your point, you stated, "The United Fruit Company, that organized the banana and other fruit growers of the West Indies, cheapened the fruit in all United States seaboard cities and made many millions for itself by doing it."

But, Mr. Lowden, since the recognition and application of these economic principles are sound and beneficial to the American public, it follows that it is the duty and sacred obligation of every public-spirited citizen, who sees the light, to use his influence to secure their wide-spread advancement and adoption. There is no more effective way possible for you to advance the cause of organization for the farmers or any other group, than by your publicly proclaiming your belief in the right of, and sympathy with the Pullman porters and maids organizing a labor union for, of and by themselves in contradistinction to the Employee Representative Plan.

As one of the dominant and controlling stockholders in a powerful corporation, and as one of America's most outstanding citizens, such a stand would immeasurably increase and strengthen the faith of the people in your brilliant and able fight for the cause of organization among the farmers. I am not requesting that you take any new position, for by your address it is evident that you are already in favor of labor organization; I am simply calling upon you to reinforce your statement by making a specific application with the Pullman porters, who have organized, in harmony with the traditions and customs of American workers and with the sanction of state and federal statutes.

Tips and a Living Wage

And if you are uncertain as to the justice of the porters' demands for a wage increase, may I say that the wage rate of $72.90 a month will hardly pay rent for the average porter. He must depend upon irregular, uncertain and inadequate tips from the public to subsidize an insufficient wage for the maintenance of his family. This custom is un-American and in opposition to American traditions. Without a living wage no porter can regulate his household, from month to month, with any degree of definiteness, since no porter can accurately foretell how much he will receive in tips during any month. This creates a state of economic fear which tends to disqualify a worker for supplying efficient service. Besides, I am certain that a man of your broad sense of social justice would regard the entire system of tipping as a method of compensating as morally indefensible. The porters feel that out of a net income of fifteen million or more dollars, according to the last fiscal report of the Pullman Company, July 1, 1925, they are entitled to a living wage.

Now, a word about what the Brotherhood is and what it wants to do.

Dear Sir, the Brotherhood is an organization of, by and for Pullman porters. It was organized and is controlled by Pullman porters and not by Moscow or Communists, anywhere. It is not only interested in getting more wages, better hours of work and improved working conditions, but it is also a *service* organization which is just as seriously interested in raising the standard of service supplied by the Pullman Company to the public as the company is. We realize that the interest of the company and the porters and maids is common in developing higher service standards. The Brotherhood plans to serve as an agency of cooperation with the company in solving *service problems*. It does not counsel insubordination on the part of porters and maids to company officials, black or white. On the contrary, it advocates industry, courtesy, intelligence, initiative, sobriety—and the recognition of and obedience to discipline. Nor is it the purpose of the Brotherhood to shield porters and maids in the violation of the company's rules and regulations.

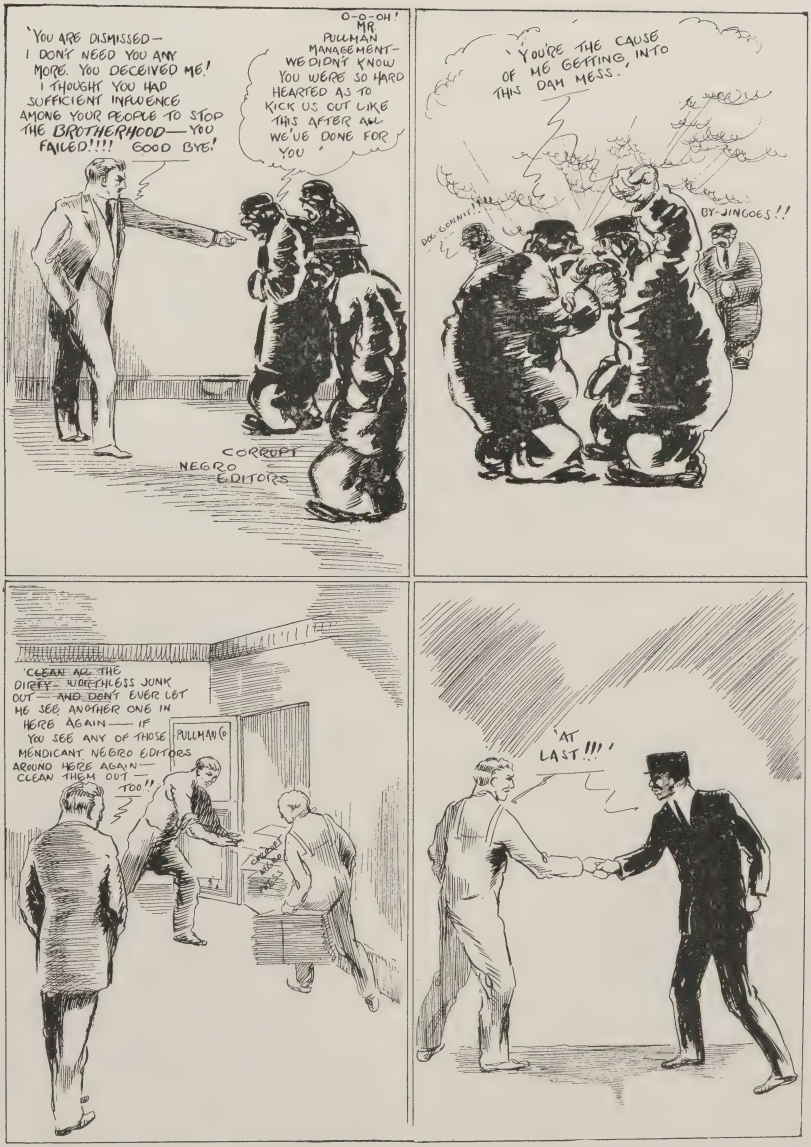
The Brotherhood is, therefore, a responsible, stable, honest, constructive movement, which is calculated to make the Pullman Company bigger and better, as well as help the porters and maids secure justice and fair-play, in terms of modern American wages', hours' and working conditions' standards. It comprises the large majority of the most stable and responsible men in the service.

May I say, Mr. Lowden, that you are in a strategic position to be of great helpfulness to the cause of organization in general and the farmers and Pullman porters in particular, by making a public pronouncement endorsing the right and value of organization among the porters and maids; for if it is just and fair, valuable and advantageous for the farmers to organize, it is also just and fair, valuable and advantageous for the porters and maids to organize. If middle men or commission jobbers, who stand between the farmer and the consumer, are harmful and against the interests of the farmers, the Employee Representation Plan, a middle man agency, which stands between the company and the porters and maids, is harmful and against the interest of the porters and maids. It engenders and fosters ill-will and unrest. Self-organization of the porters and maids is the only solution of problems arising between themselves and the Pullman Company. It is now a fact, a living reality. It was inevitable. It is an agency of industrial peace and efficiency. And I am sure that you and the management will recognize the wisdom of its policies and methods of cooperation with the company.

You have the power to speed the day of mutual good-will and constructive cooperation in one of the largest industries in the United States, thereby setting an example and precedent of vision, sanity and reason in the handling of industrial problems which the enlightened moral judgment of the people will applaud and commend. And may I say that the Brotherhood, too, is fully cognizant of the necessity and is desirous and prepared to assume all of the duties, responsibilities and obligations, as well as to possess the rights and privileges of cooperation. The Brotherhood proposes to demonstrate to the public and the Pullman Company the justifiability of its existence, in terms of increased efficiency, responsibility, intelligence, initiative.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer.


'YOU ARE DISMISSED— I DON'T NEED YOU ANY MORE. YOU DECEIVED ME! I THOUGHT YOU HAD SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE AMONG YOUR PEOPLE TO STOP THE BROTHERHOOD— YOU FAILED!!!! GOOD BYE!
O-O-OH! MR PULLMAN MANAGEMENT— WE DIDN'T KNOW YOU WERE SO HARD HEARTED AS TO KICK US OUT LIKE THIS AFTER ALL WE'VE DONE FOR YOU '
CORRUPT NEGRO EDITORS
'YOU'RE THE CAUSE OF ME GETTING INTO THIS DAM MESS.
DOG GONNIT!!
BY-JINGOES!!
'CLEAN ALL THE DIRTY- WORTHLESS JUNK OUT— AND DON'T EVER LET ME SEE ANOTHER ONE IN HERE AGAIN— IF YOU SEE ANY OF THOSE MENDICANT NEGRO EDITORS AROUND HERE AGAIN— CLEAN THEM OUT— TOO!!
PULLMAN Co
'AT LAST!!!'

A LETTER FROM DONALD RICHBERG

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311-7th Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Replying to the request of your letter of June 25th, I will make certain suggestions regarding a program which the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters might adopt to advance the interests of the members through the opportunities afforded by the Railway Labor Act. You will understand that my purpose is to give legal advice rather than to suggest organization policies, but it will be difficult to discuss the legal phases of your problems without at the same time considering the practical phases, and in regard to the latter you will understand that I venture only tentative opinions.

At the outset I hope your membership will realize that the provisions of the Railway Labor Act are intended to aid the employers and employes in co-operative efforts to maintain satisfactory industrial relations, but this Act is not intended to give either party a means for evading personal responsibility or a means for regulating industrial relations by government orders. The Act makes it the duty of employers and employees to make and maintain agreements and to settle their disputes over the making of agreements or over the interpretation of them. The aid of the Board of Mediation which is established by the new law can be obtained to help the parties to settle their differences of opinion, but it is primarily their duty to accept and to fulfill their responsibilities to themselves and to each other.

If this underlying theory of the law is understood, it will be recognized that the ability of the sleeping car porters to improve their conditions will depend primarily upon their own ability, first, to organize for collective action and, second, to act in such a manner that, in the improvement of their conditions, benefits will be realized also by the employer and by the public.

If a labor organization is to be of service to its members, to employers and to the public, it must be prepared to accept increasing responsibility as its power increases. The first requirement therefore is, as with an individual, "know thyself." Since your organization is in the formative stage, naturally it has not developed as yet the means for a thorough understanding of the needs and desires of its membership. This seems to me the pre-requisite to any effort to represent those needs and desires in negotiations with the employer.

Therefore, I would suggest as the first step, that you should prepare a careful and clearly worded questionnaire to be sent to your entire membership calling for answers to such questions as the following:

What rules or working conditions do you regard as unfair? Please answer in the order of their importance to you.

If you had a choice between shorter hours or a proportionate increase in pay, which would you prefer?

If you believe wages should be increased, what do you think would be a reasonable increase to request?

What reason would you give for asking for an increase of wages?

Do you want a fixed wage without tips, or do you think a man's earnings should vary according to the personal service he gives or the good-will of passengers?

I have suggested only broad questions. It might be better to have most of the questions more definite, that is, directed toward a particular rule or in regard to a particular wage increase. I do not wish to suggest any such questions myself, but with the information you have you might well ask a series of definite questions as well as some broader questions.

One advantage which I see in the referendum, which I propose that you take from your membership by sending out these questionnaires, is that you will be able to ascertain their wishes without the holding of an expensive convention of delegates, which is the manner whereby long-established labor organizations are accustomed to determine the desires of their members. You can avoid this expense for the present. Yet you are faced at the outset with the necessity for adopting a tentative program for your organization. You must know that you have your members really behind you in any program you advance. Also you must map out what may be called a long-distance program, looking ahead toward eventual improvements in wages and working conditions which cannot be had in the immediate future. I know from my talk with you that you are impressed with the wisdom of making gradual but sure progress. Social and economic conditions cannot be changed in a day or in a year. In the long run that organization is most successful which is willing to work for a steady progress and will not attempt spectacular efforts at quick success; efforts which seldom win and when they do win usually bring only a temporary victory.

Particularly, let me suggest that your organization should not attempt to rush into the use of the machinery of the new Railway Labor Act while the organization itself is really in process of formation and has a membership practically inexperienced in collective action. A young organization, like a young person, may be inclined to rash adventure. The conservatism of the older labor organizations, which is sometimes the cause of criticism, is nevertheless the fruit of experience.

Political wars and industrial wars in the past have seemed unavoidable. But real progress has been made in times of peace. Strikes are battles in industrial wars and strikes have been necessary because men have had to fight for freedom and justice, throughout recorded history. But industrial gains are reaped in times of peace. The new Railway Labor Act was written, as its sponsors stated, as "a machinery to promote peace, not a manual of war." Therefore, I suggest that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters should bide their time and strengthen their organization and let those railway labor organizations which are old and skilled in the arts of peace, as well as war, proceed with the utilization and interpretation of the new law, while your Brotherhood prepares a long-time program for the gradual but sure improvement in the conditions of its members.

Please understand that I am not suggesting any indefinite postponement of action for immediate betterment of conditions. On the contrary, it seems to me that, just as soon as you know what your membership desires the most, and just as soon as you are agreed upon a definite, reasonable program which will give more satisfaction to the employes and better service to the employer and to the public, a request should be made for a conference in order to negotiate an agreement, which is not only the right and duty of your members under the law, but which is also the right and duty of the Pullman Company. If the Brotherhood appreciates and accepts its responsibilities, as well as its opportunities, under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, it is to be expected that the Pullman Company management will meet you half way with the acceptance of its responsibility and will welcome the opportunity for improved co-operation with those employes who represent numerically the chief contact of the company with the public. These employes reflect to the public the Pullman Company's standards of public service. In this situation it should be reasonable to expect co-operation if that is what you offer to the management.

Finally, permit me to urge upon you again the fundamental importance of your organization work. Your internal strength will be the measure of your external strength. An able leadership will help, but it is solidarity of organization that wins the struggles of labor.

Chief Justice Taft wrote in a famous opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States that labor unions "were organized out of the necessities of the situation. A single employe was helpless in dealing with an employer * * * Union was essential to give laborers an opportunity to deal on equality with their employer."

Organize intensively; discipline yourselves in order that you may stand and move together; deal fairly with each other, with employers and the public; and you will go far.

I have written somewhat at length because I think that the working philosophy of your organization will have great importance in determining the measure of its success. Therefore, I have endeavored to suggest a working philosophy in harmony with the law and with modern enlightened opinion on industrial relations.

Very truly yours,

DONALD R. RICHBERG.

Donald R. Richberg's Letter to A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer

The foregoing letter from Mr. Richberg, celebrated labor attorney, representative of the twenty standard railway labor organizations, and joint author of the Watson-Parker Bill, under which the new Railway Labor Act was born, is illuminating and informative. He has gone into the question fully and detailedly, indicating that a strong, well-disciplined organization is indispensable to success, that with it there can be no failure, that the Mediation Board exists for the Brother-

hood to utilize, that it can utilize it best after the Board has laid down certain precedents and interpretations on the law in a case involving one of the powerful, standard railway unions.

No man in America is better prepared to state the case of procedure and method of negotiating wages and working conditions under the new law than is Mr. Richberg.

At every stage of our struggle it shall be my policy to enlist the co-operation and seek the advice of the best minds in the country, bearing on our case. It shall also be my policy to tell the members of the Brotherhood the truth about our struggle.

Events are moving swiftly. Already several standard railway unions are preparing to institute action on wages and working conditions under the Mediation Board. Their case will be disposed of with speed. We have no time to waste. We must be ever ready to go to the bat. The stronger we are in membership, the stronger will our case be.

Hence, every Brotherhood man should make himself a committee of one to bring in a slacker-porter. Our movement is no stronger than its weakest link.

A referendum will be instituted at once. Every Brotherhood man will be expected and required to make out the questionnaire and return same to the Brotherhood's headquarters, in New York, immediately.

We are in our most commanding and favorable position since our birth.

Your faithful servant,

A. Philip Randolph.

How Railway Labor Act Will Work

(*Concluded from page 228*)

boards or national boards, according to the terms of the agreement.

The creation of these Boards is one of the first duties imposed on railroads and employes in order to complete the machinery for adjusting disputes. Therefore, conferences for this purpose between employe representatives and carrier representatives will follow in due course upon the taking effect of the new law and the standard organizations may be expected to advise their membership regarding appropriate and desirable procedure in this matter.

When these Boards of Adjustment have been established the agreements creating them will detail the procedure for adjustment of all grievances and disputes over the application of agreements. In any case where a Board of Adjustment fails to reach a decision, the services of the Board of Mediation can be invoked by either party.

No Formal Hearings

3. The most important fact to understand about the Board of Mediation is that it is not a tribunal like the Railroad Labor Board to which disputes can be referred for a "decision."

When mediation is requested, or the Board offers its services, there will be no formal hearings with the presentation of evidence and arguments before the Board sitting as a sort of court.

A member or members of the Board will investigate the dispute informally and usually at the place where it has arisen and bring the pressure and aid of impartial public officials into the controversy for the purpose of bringing about an agreement—thus carrying out the purpose of the law that all differences shall be settled by agreement.

If the Board of Mediation can not induce the parties to reach an agreement directly, its final action will be an effort to induce them to agree to submit the dispute to arbitration. If this is accomplished the result again will be a settlement by agreement—that is, an agreement to abide by the decision of a Board of Arbitration.

Settlement by Arbitration

4. When arbitration is agreed to there is a very careful provision in the law for assuring a fair and decisive settlement.

The parties select one or two arbitrators each (according to whether they agree upon a board of three or six).

These selected arbitrators have five or fifteen days in which to agree upon the one or two neutral arbitrators. If they fail to agree the Board of Mediation appoints the neutrals.

The arbitration agreement written in the law assures a fair hearing and the award is made a judgment of court which can only be set aside for one of three causes: either (1) that the arbitration agreement was not complied with; or (2) that the law was not complied with; or (3) that there was fraud or corruption.

Sincerity of Both Parties

5. The provisions for conference, adjustment, mediation and arbitration complete what may be described as the voluntary machinery of the law.

If these provisions are used in a sincere effort of both parties to "make and maintain agreements" it may be reasonably expected that controversies will be settled amicably and decisively and the parties bound by their own contracts to put the settlements into effect promptly and with good will and good faith.

Thus there will be an end of the intolerable situation under the previous law where, after time and money had been expended in getting a "decision" from the Labor Board, there was no certainty that the "decision" would be accepted and put into effect, because either party had the legal right to refuse to accept, and not a clear moral obligation to comply with the decision.

Final Emergency Board

6. There is a further provision in the Act which should be regarded somewhat as a derailing switch or an automatic train control—not as a mechanism to aid operation, but rather as a device to avert catastrophe.

If no means of settlement has been obtained through conference or mediation, and a dispute "threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce" the Board of Mediation may notify the President and he may create an Emergency Board which will investigate and report within thirty (30) days and during that period and for thirty (30) days thereafter, all parties are forbidden to change "the conditions out of which the dispute arose."

The duty of the Emergency Board is primarily to find a way to settle important disputes when all usual methods have failed—and, if unable to bring about a settlement, to inform the public as to the responsibility for this failure and to lay the blame where it should lie.

Basic Theory of the Law

An Emergency Board is not to be created to relieve parties of their responsibilities, but to make parties accept their responsibilities, or else be charged publicly with failure to conduct themselves with due regard for the rights of others.

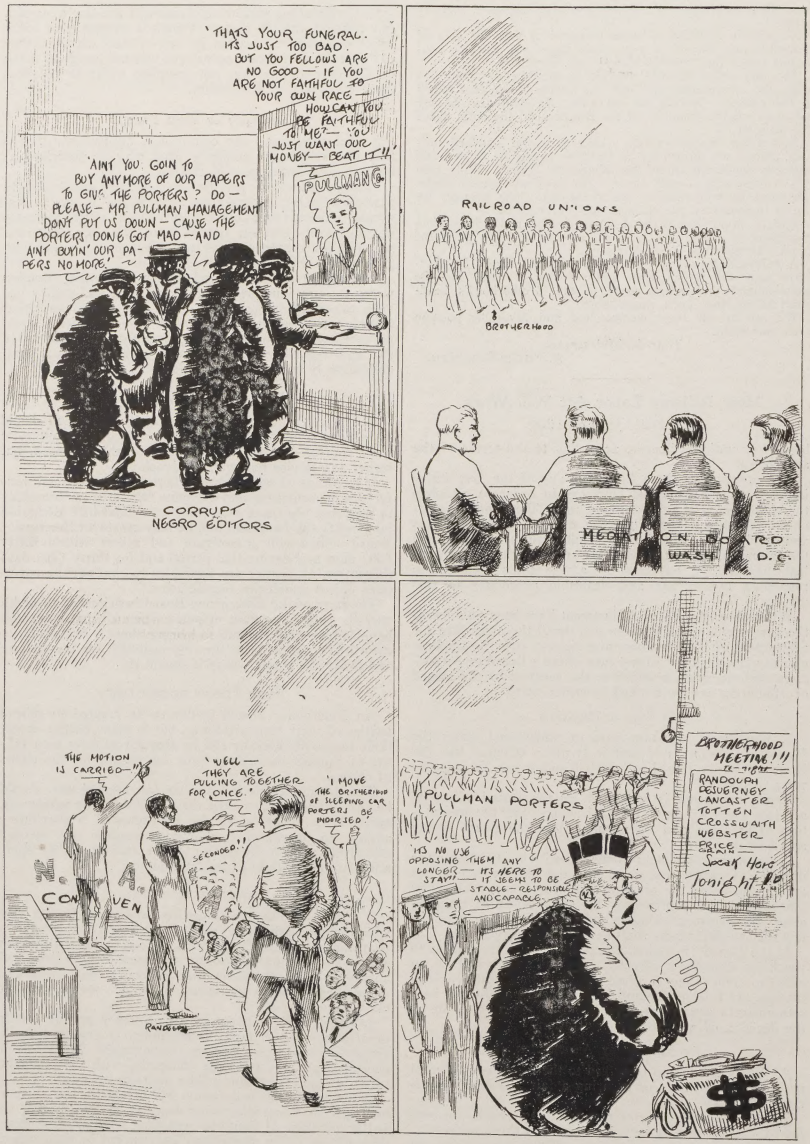
The theory of this law is that fair-minded men should be able to find ways to settle their differences by agreement, particularly when aided by disinterested authoritative advice. In emergencies public condemnation may be used effectively against those who will be fair only when operating in the spotlight of public opinion.

Protective Provisions

7. There are many protective provisions in the law which might be discussed extensively—such as the requirement that wages, rules and working conditions shall not be altered during conferences or mediation upon a proposed change—or the provision that no court shall issue any orders requiring an individual to render service against his will.

In place of the compulsion of arbitrary private orders or arbitrary public laws, a machinery is provided for a genuine co-operation between management and labor in operating an industry most efficiently, with the resultant gains for the private and public interests involved.

If the parties to a negotiation will invoke the law as their own agreemnt regarding what *ought* to be done, instead of as the command of Congress regarding what *must* be done, they will go far in promoting "government by the consent of the governed," in industry as well as in the nation.


'THATS YOUR FUNERAL. ITS JUST TOO BAD. BUT YOU FELLOWS ARE NO GOOD — IF YOU ARE NOT FAITHFUL TO YOUR OWN RACE — HOW CAN YOU BE FAITHFUL TO ME? — YOU JUST WANT OUR MONEY — BEAT IT!!'
'AINT YOU GOIN TO BUY ANY MORE OF OUR PAPERS TO GIV THE PORTERS? DO — PLEASE — MR PULLMAN MANAGEMENT DONT PUT US DOWN — CAUSE THE PORTERS DONE GOT MAD — AND AINT BUYIN' OUR PAPERS NO MORE.'
PULLMAN
CORRUPT NEGRO EDITORS
RAILROAD UNIONS
BROTHERHOOD
MEDIATION BOARD
WASH D.C.
THE MOTION IS CARRIED —
'WELL — THEY ARE PULLING TOGETHER FOR ONCE'
'I MOVE THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS BE ENDORSED'
SECONDED!!
N. A. A. CP CONVEN ON
RANDOLPH
BROTHERHOOD MEETING!!!
RANDOLPH
DEJURNEY
LANCASTER
TOTTEN
CROSSWAITH
WEBSTER
PRICE
SPEAK HERE TONIGHT
PULLMAN PORTERS
'ITS NO USE OPPOSING THEM ANY LONGER — ITS HERE TO STAY!' — IT SEEMS TO BE STABLE — RESPONSIBLE AND CAPABLE
$

What Are We?

(*Concluded from page* 238)

wonder what those who declare he shouldn't have been made a citizen, have to kick about.

The white workers sometimes call themselves, wage-slaves. The Negro, by and large, is only that in all its sinister implications. There are some above this grade, yet they also are all times subject to attack by the mob and gratuitous insult by the meanest whites.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of the French Senate made a study of the Negro in the America and aptly summarized it when he said the American Negro is "Freedman not a citizen." Still many Negroes fondly believe themselves citizens. These remind one of the story of the man who had a large fortune and lost it, following which he lost his mind. In this state he fancied he had got it back again, and was content as before. Many a lunatic behind bars is quite happy in the belief that he is Napoleon or Jesus Christ.

In one or two spots as New York, Boston, Minneapolis and Chicago, the Negro is given a slight measure of citizenship, but compared with that accorded the French Negro it is a joke.

* * * *

When is the Negro a citizen: In matters of duty. As Stephenson in "Race Distinctions in Law" has demonstrated the Negro is still largely white man's property.

To the New Youth

(*Concluded from page* 234)

up this retinue of boot-lickers. To show that Randolph is a man who dares to tell the truth, on next week, he and Chandler Owen, joint editors of the MESSENGER, face a charge of criminal libel,—for telling the truth! It is getting so that we have to defend ourselves in the criminal court to make America safe for the truth!

In the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters we see a thrilling and significant demonstration of this fight for democracy. These men are asking no special favors. All in the world they want is decent treatment,—240 hours a month in regular assignment,—as fair play and as much justice as the white workers receive. When they get that they will still be a long way from true justice, when it comes to Labor's rewards. But I am not here to talk socialism to you tonight.

Another matter of paramount importance is this Segregation. We are too near Indianapolis and Detroit to need mention that. The recent bathing beach bill in Washington shows us the urgency of keeping awake. Truly, we must neither slumber nor sleep, if we are to have any place in the sun. We must watch this increasing tendency for segregation in schools and playgrounds to creep north.

Here are but a few of the issues which we must meet and fight. You see I am a fighter. I like to fight,—for a purpose. I don't want anybody to put anything over on me, or anybody else. We face these conditions, and we must fight back. The only freedom we can hope to possess is what we fight to maintain. The only democracy there is, lies in these efforts to achieve liberty.

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You realize, then, that this is no question of philanthropy, or of general interest. It is urgent, imperative. If there is to be any of that stuff, which the constitution calls the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,—if there is to be any left to our children we must fight for it here, and that right soon. We see the need. Now it becomes for us either,—a fight,—or,—a compromise.

In conclusion, in order to make it unnecessary for you to question me on this, I expect you would like to know where I think this fighting program, which I advocate, will lead in the future. To my mind there is only one goal in all these discussions of race-values, race-destinies, and race-relations, and that goal is to break down all barriers, prejudice, and discrimination due to color and race. We must hold for our fundamental conviction the single standard of manhood by their *deeds* shall you know men, not by the texture of their hair, nor the color of their faces; nor yet their wives, nor their grandfathers, but by their *works*. We must strive toward a society wherein the workers are hired and fired on their individual merit.

I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, and I have no gift of divinations. I cannot tell whether or not this means breaking down that delicate and fragile thing called Racial Integrity. I don't care. I am much more concerned with the perpetuation of the most useful tools of society, and the most beautiful arts of civilization, than I am interested in the appearance of the folks who shall carry these treasures down the years.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of THE MESSENGER, published monthly, at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1926.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Roy Lancaster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MESSENGER magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Name of— *Post office address—*

Publisher, The Messenger Pub. Co., 2311 7th Ave., New York.
Editor, A. Philip Randolph, 695 St. Nicholas Ave., New York.
Managing Editor, Chandler Owen, 215 W. 139th St., New York.
Business Manager, Roy Lancaster, 666 St. Nicholas Ave., New York.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Messenger Pub. Co., 2311 7th Ave., New York.
A. Philip Randolph, 695 St. Nicholas Ave., New York.
Chandler Owen, 215 W. 139th St., New York.
Robert Godet, 32 W. 136th St., New York.
Victor R. Daly, 261 W. 134th St., New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

A. Philip Randolph, 695 St. Nicholas Ave., New York.
Chandler Owen, 215 W. 139th St., New York.
Robert Godet, 32 W. 136th St., New York.
Victor R. Daly, 261 W. 134th St., New York.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is——. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROY LANCASTER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of July, 1926.

(Seal) FREDRANA D. WARING.
Notary Public, New York County

My commission expires March 30, 1927.

WHO'S WHO IN COLORED AMERICA

is being carefully prepared for publication as soon as possible under the advice, criticism and guidance of the following scholarly, distinguished and representative Board of Editors.

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